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# REFORM GOVERNMENT IN ONTARIO.

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THE BENEFITS IT HAS CONFERRED UPON THE PEOPLE.

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## SPEECHES

DELIVERED BY THE

# HON. OLIVER MOWAT

— AT —

WOODSTOCK, THURSDAY EVE'G, DEC. 12th, 1878,

**BEFORE HIS CONSTITUENTS,**

AND IN

TORONTO, WEDNESDAY EVENING, JAN. 8th, 1879,

BEFORE THE

Young Men's Reform Literary and Debating Club,

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TORONTO, ONTARIO,

GLOBE PRINTING COMPANY, KING STREET EAST,

1879.

Reform Government in Ontario. The Benefits it has conferred upon the People.  
- Speeches delivered by the Hon. Oliver Mowat at Woodstock, Thursday Eve's,  
Dec. 12th, 1878, before his constituents, and in Toronto, Wednesday Evening,  
Jan. 8th, 1879, before the Young Men's Reform Literary and Debating Club.  
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REVIEW OF THE  
POLITICAL

COLLEGE

THE BENEFITS TO HIS CONSTITUENTS UPON THE LEADERSHIP

OF THE STATE

BY JAMES H. BROWN

JOHN BROWN'S  
POLITICAL

WOMAN AND CHILDREN'S POLITICAL POSITION

IN THE POLITICAL FIELD

BY JAMES

JOHN BROWN, POLITICAL LEADER IN THE STATE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

AND HIS POLITICAL FRIENDS

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BROWN'S POLITICAL

POSITION UPON THE LEADERSHIP OF THE STATE

BY JAMES

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# MR. MOWAT'S REVIEW AND DEFENCE OF HIS ADMINISTRATION.

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SPEECH DELIVERED BEFORE HIS CONSTITUENTS  
AT WOODSTOCK, THURSDAY EVENING,  
DECEMBER 12th, 1878.

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The Hon. Oliver Mowat, Premier of Ontario, addressed a meeting of his constituents of North Oxford in the Town Hall, Woodstock, on Thursday night, 12th December, 1878. Mr. T. H. Parker, Mayor of Woodstock, presided, and in addition to Mr. Mowat, Messrs Thos. Oliver, M. P. for North Oxford, John Douglas, President of the Reform Association, Rev. W. T. McMullen, and Rev. W. R. Parker, occupied seats on the platform.

The Chairman, in introducing the speaker of the evening, remarked that though some people had little faith in the speeches of politicians, he was sure all present would agree with him when he said that they were fortunate in having as their representative a thoroughly honest and upright man. (Cheers.) After they had heard the plain unvarnished tale that he would deliver as to the work himself and his colleagues had done, they would, he was satisfied, agree with him that Mr. Mowat was the right man in the right place. (Loud cheers.)

Hon. Mr. MOWAT, on coming forward, was received with warm and hearty cheers. After briefly thanking his constituents for the kindly greeting which they had given him, he said:—It is recognized as a fitting thing that a representative of the people should, from time to time, appear before his constituents to give to them an account of what he had been doing as their representative, and it is fitting also that he would appear amongst them on other occasions. I have endeavoured

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to discharge this duty, and regret exceedingly that I have not been able to visit you more frequently.

#### **Dominion and Local Politics.**

During the last generalelection contest I had the pleasure of addressing several meetings in North Oxford, though I attended but one meeting elsewhere. The matters under discussion did not relate to Provincial affairs ; but I was doubtless quite within my line of duty when, at the request of my constituents, I appeared at those meetings. Opposition newspapers and orators pretend that I was wrong in doing so. They say in effect that I came too often to North Oxford ; and my visits during the Dominion elections are urged as forming one of the strongest reasons why the confidence of the people of Ontario should be withdrawn from me. It happened that my views upon the so-called National Policy coincided with the views of my constituents. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) The question, whichever side was right with regard to it, was, in the view of all men, a question on which the future of this country greatly depended. By universal admission the prosperity of Canada would be seriously affected one way or the other, whatever conclusion the people should arrive at in regard to it. In such a case I hold that it was most proper for me, as a citizen of Ontario, as one interested in its well-being, to appear before my constituents, or any others, for the purpose of expressing my views on this great public question. (Hear, hear.) It is quite true that the Local Government ought to be independent of the Dominion Government ; but though the two Governments may be wholly unconnected, yet there is no reason why the members of either should not take a lively interest in important concerns with which they have not officially to do. (Hear, hear.) In becoming a representative of the people in the Provincial Assembly, and in taking the position of Premier of the Local Government, I did not forego the legal and constitutional right which a private individual possesses to take part as opportunity offers in all matters of public interest. The people of Canada have declared that in this country there shall be no connection between Church and State. Does this debar an officer of the State from taking public part in the affairs of his Church ? Does my position in the State forbid my attending Church meetings, to discuss there questions in which I may feel an interest ? There is no reason why I should abstain from taking part in matters relating to the general welfare of the Dominion ; and nobody really thinks there is any incongruity about the matter ; the objection is set up only because those who make it feel that there is no solid reason why the people of Ontario should withdraw from my colleagues and myself that confidence which they have extended to us in the past.

#### **Our Constitutional System.**

It is now more than eleven years since our present constitutional system was established. That event was one of great importance to our country, and a great triumph to those whose persevering efforts had brought it about. Before that time other great battles had been fought, and other great victories had been won, in the interest of the people of Canada. The obtaining of responsible government, the

secularization of the clergy reserves, the establishment of municipal institutions (in spite of the charge made against them that they would be mere " sucking republics "), were the results of severe and long struggles, and all were victories of great value. But not less difficult or less important than these was the establishment of the system which put an end to French Tory rule in the local affairs of Ontario—(cheers)—placed the management of our local affairs in our own hands, and gave to the Province representation in proportion to our population in all things of common concern. It took a long time to accomplish these victories ; but now all men, when they look back, wonder how measures so advantageous to the community, and so necessary, could have been opposed by anybody. Our new system has on the whole worked with a success surpassing the expectations of its friends.

The subjects agitated at the late Dominion elections are subjects which do not belong to Provincial jurisdiction ; and in the approaching local elections you will have nothing to do with these subjects. The questions which stirred the country then are not involved, directly or indirectly, in the general election which is now drawing near. The Local Legislature has nothing to do with the tariff. We can not raise it or diminish it ; nor can we alter anything contained in it. We have nothing to do with Customs duties or Excise duties—nothing to do with the duties imposed on any articles which we consume, whether made in the country or out of it. We have no power to pass a prohibitory liquor law. The Dunkin Act is a matter entirely beyond the jurisdiction of the Provincial Legislature. We have no right to repeal it ; we have no right to add anything to its provisions ; we cannot even create by law additional machinery for the purpose of giving legal effect to its provisions in those localities where the people favour such a law. All these important matters, which occupied attention during the late elections, and on other occasions, we shall have nothing to do with when we come to consider the issues involved in our Provincial elections.

But the Provincial Legislature has very large powers. When you call to mind the various branches of jurisdiction which it possesses, you will perceive that they include those subjects with which the great bulk of legislation in Canada before Confederation had to do, and with which the great bulk of legislation in free countries generally has to do.

We have exclusive jurisdiction to regulate our own local constitution, except so far as affects the office of the Lieutenant-Governor. It is for the Provincial Legislature—your representatives there—to say of how many Houses the Legislature shall be constituted, whether as now of one House, the Legislative Assembly, or whether of two Houses, as is the case in most of the other Provinces. It is for the Provincial Legislature to say into how many constituencies the country shall be divided for Provincial representation ; what the qualifications of the members shall be ; what the qualifications of the electors shall be ; and how the controverted elections are to be tried. All matters of this kind affecting the Provincial Legislature, the Provincial Legislature has exclusive jurisdiction to deal with. We have exclusive jurisdiction over the subject of the administration of justice,

the most essential function of every Government. The Provincial Legislature has exclusive jurisdiction over the great subjects of property and civil rights. It has exclusive jurisdiction over all matters affecting our municipal institutions—stitutions to which the country owes a large measure of its past prosperity, and on which its future prosperity will likewise largely depend. The Provincial Legislature has exclusive jurisdiction over all educational matters—the most important subject which can occupy the attention of any Legislature. (Cheers.) We have jurisdiction over various other matters of a local kind. Now, even the slight and imperfect enumeration which I have made is sufficient to enable you to perceive how very important it is that those who have the control of Provincial affairs should deserve as well as possess public confidence. (Hear, hear.) In the partial enumeration which I have given to you I have not referred to our financial matters. Of these I will now speak.

#### Sources of Revenue.

The British North America Act provided for a certain sum—\$80,000—to be paid to the province out of the Dominion Treasury annually towards the expense of civil government. The Province receives annually a further sum of money equal to eighty cents per head of the population according to the census which had been taken before the passing of that Act—the census of 1861—that sum being payable half-yearly in advance. The B. N. A. provided also that every Province should have the ownership and enjoyment of all its lands, mines, minerals and royalties, and so on. It is chiefly from these sources that the revenue of the Province is derived. We thus receive from the Dominion Treasury annually the following sums (omitting the cents):—

The specific amount that I have mentioned.....	\$ 80,000
The subsidy of eighty cents per head.....	1,116,872
And interest on certain funds owing to Upper Canada by the late	
Province of Canada before Confederation.....	136,896
	<hr/>
	\$1,333,568

The last of these three items arises chiefly from the arrangement made when the seignorial tenure was abolished in Lower Canada. Those of you who took an interest in politics at that period will recollect that, in order to abolish the seignorial tenure, which certainly stood very much in the way of the prosperity of Lower Canada, large sums had to be paid to the seigneurs, and that these sums were paid out of the public treasury. It would have been an unjust thing, as all admitted, that they should have been paid with funds to which Upper Canada had contributed much more than Lower Canada had; and in which Upper Canada was more largely interested than Lower Canada was; and it was therefore provided in effect that certain corresponding sums should be passed to the credit of Upper Canada, and that Upper Canada should receive the benefit of these for local objects at some future time. We had not been paid when Confederation was accomplished, and the amount therefore under the B. N. A. Act became a debt due to us by the Dominion, and we received interest upon it annually. So that we receive from the Dominion of Canada annually an aggregate revenue of say \$1,333,569. Then we have

considerable territorial revenue. In 1877 this revenue, derived from Clergy lands, Common School lands, Grammar School lands, Crown lands, woods and forests, and so on, amounted to \$628,712. We also receive interest on various investments which the Province holds, and of which I will have to speak by-and-bye. In 1877 the amount of such interest was \$183,073. From various other sources we receive other sums, making our revenue for 1877 \$2,452,077. The annual revenue since Confederation has varied from two and a quarter millions to three millions. About two and a half millions of dollars may be considered as our average annual revenue from all sources. Now the great governmental purposes of the Administration of Justice, Civil Administration, and Legislation do not require much more than one-fifth of this sum. Some say that a Government ought to have nothing to do with anything but these three things; they say that Civil Administration, Legislation and the Administration of Justice are the only matters which can legitimately occupy the attention of a Government. But however that may be, these certainly are the most important matters; these are essential functions of Government whatever other functions Government may have, and whatever other duties a Government may discharge. The cost of these is now but little over half a million of dollars.

#### **How to Employ the Surplus.**

As soon as the experience of a few years of Confederation enabled the people's representatives to see what the liabilities of the Province were, and what the probable needs of the country would be, there arose the problem of how best, after setting aside this part, the balance of our revenue could be employed; and the problem was one which might well occupy very great attention on the part of your representatives and on the part of yourselves. Having the large revenue which I have mentioned, how best may that revenue be employed? and how best may the accumulations of past years be employed? That problem was not solved, or anything like solved, before a Reform Government came into power. (Hear, hear.) But it was not the only problem which the Reform Government had to deal with. It had various other questions of great difficulty to solve. We had, for instance, to deal with the matter of

#### **The Municipal Loan Fund Debts.**

That was a question which had its origin a quarter of a century before, and from that day until we solved it the difficulty of the solution had been increasing. (Hear, hear.) In 1872 these Municipal debts, with the interest upon them, amounted to something like twelve millions of dollars. Municipalities which could have paid, and had no sort of equitable or just defence to paying, had not paid. Some of these, which were owing very large sums to the fund, had for many years made no payment on account of principal or interest to the Province, and others had for a considerable number of years been equally neglectful of their duty. All this time the body of the people, including those who resided in undebted municipalities, were paying the interest upon the money which had been borrowed by the indebted municipalities, and which

they had not repaid. Those who had derived no benefit from the money were thus paying for it, as well as those who had derived all the benefit. And that was not the only wrong connected with this state of things. Important sections of the country had been kept back in the race of improvement in consequence of the heavy indebtedness which lay upon them, and which it was well known that they could not discharge—which it was utterly beyond their power to pay. In some of these cases sums so large had been lent that from the first it was beyond the power of the borrowing municipalities to repay them; and in other cases, where it had not been beyond their power to repay the loans originally, it had become beyond their power by the accumulations of unpaid interest. Property in these localities was depreciated; men were afraid to settle there; and the consequence was, that important sections of our country were not partaking of the general prosperity of the rest of the Province, and which it was the common interest of the whole country that every part of it should enjoy. There was another evil which in one sense was a worse one than those I have mentioned; namely, that the danger, which every municipality in default was in of being at any time called upon suddenly to pay, had the effect of keeping municipalities to a large extent in chains to the Government of the day, and was a source of an undue influence over some of those municipalities, from which the whole country suffered. It was our duty to find some solution for the formidable and growing difficulties connected with these debts. It is quite true that the difficulties had existed for a long time; it is quite true that it had been as much the duty of the Governments which preceded ours as it was our duty to deal with the subject. But they had not done so; and instead of removing the evil they had allowed it to go on increasing year after year without making more than one slight attempt to grapple with it, and that attempt had proved unsuccessful. You know that we took up the subject in the first session after you had given me your confidence and elected me as your representative; and to settle the difficulty it was our good fortune to devise a measure which gave satisfaction to the whole country and to all parties in the country. (Cheers.) We found a way, which the Legislature adopted, and by which the indebted municipalities were relieved, upon principles admitted at the time to be just, and at the same time satisfactory to the unindebted municipalities; and we compelled those defaulting municipalities to pay that were able to pay, and had no equitable reason to urge for not paying. We required these to pay to the extent of their ability, and we defined certain principles by which that object should be accomplished without favoritism to any. In that settlement no party preferences were observed; we applied the same rule to Tory municipalities as we did to those which were Reform, and as we did to those which were neither Tory nor Reform, if there were any such. (Cheers.) Our scheme passed almost without criticism at the time; and although you may now and then hear a little carping at this or the other feature of it, there has never to this day been suggested by anybody a comprehensive scheme which it was even claimed would have been superior to ours; and I therefore venture to say there never will be. (Hear, hear.) That was one great Provincial problem, then, which had defied our predecessors, and with which we grappled promptly and successfully. (Cheers.)

### The Quebec Award.

There was another important matter which we found unsettled and in controversy when we came into office. By the British North America Act a certain part of the debt of the old Province of Canada was assumed by the Dominion absolutely, and a balance of several millions, which also the Dominion assumed as regards our creditors, the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec were to repay to the Dominion Treasury, but in what proportion this balance should be repaid by the two Provinces, and what division of the assets of the old Province of Canada should be made, the British North America Act did not determine, and that had to be decided by arbitrators. An award had been made before we came into office, which, though not giving to Ontario its full rights, was yet such an award as, for the sake of a settlement, Ontario was contented to accept. But Quebec objected to the award as being unfair to Quebec and illegal, and the Dominion Government refused in consequence to recognize the award, or to give to Ontario the benefit of it, until its legality should be admitted, or should be decided by some judicial tribunal. Efforts were from time to time made to get the matter arranged amicably, or to have it referred to some tribunal for adjudication. We were unable, however, to come to any amicable arrangement with the Province of Quebec, whose people had been made to believe that millions of dollars had been awarded to us beyond what Ontario was entitled to. The dispute had in consequence to be referred to the Privy Council. Representatives from the two Provinces repeatedly met, and we ultimately settled upon a case containing all that in the judgment of either side was material to the decision of the matter at issue; and not many months ago, the Privy Council after several days' argument, decided in favor of Ontario, holding that the award was a perfectly valid one, as we had contended that it was. And so another important question was settled.

### The Boundary Questions.

Another inter-provincial matter that had been left for a Reform Government to deal with, was the unsurveyed boundary line, between the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec. Very shortly after Mr. Blake's Government was formed, arrangements were made with Lower Canada for running this line. The survey was entered upon promptly, and has been completed to the satisfaction of both Governments as far northerly as the case required. And thus this inter-provincial difficulty was removed.

There remained the question of the boundary between Ontario and the Dominion on our western and northern sides, and in this matter the difficulty was immensely greater, and the land affected of enormously greater value, than in the case of our eastern boundary. Little progress had been made towards the solution of this problem before Mr. Blake's Government came into power. But immediately upon his assuming the reins of office, he took steps for its settlement. I succeeded him in the work. Exhaustive reports from able men familiar with the subject were obtained. Some of the questions involved in the controversy had been in debate for two centuries; the documents and papers bearing upon the subject were scattered over hundreds of volumes; nearly as many old maps had to be consult-

ed ; and documents, books, and maps had to be searched for and examined in London and Paris, Washington and Albany, Ottawa and Quebec. We managed to collect from all these what was material, and to comprise in a single volume of nounmanageable dimensions the whole evidence on both sides of the question ; and we had a map prepared which gave at a glance the material results of all the maps which had been consulted. This preliminary work was great and tedious, but it made ultimate decision easy and prompt. We arranged with the Government of the Dominion that the matter should be submitted to arbitration. Objectors declared that we were sure to fail before arbitrators, and that what we should do was to carry the case to the Imperial Privy Council, instead of arbitrating. We did not concur in that view. Though we estimated highly the ability and learning of the Judges of the Privy Council, we thought that on our own side of the Atlantic might be found men as capable as any elsewhere, to decide a case of this kind. Three arbitrators were therefore chosen. The Province of Ontario selected Chief Justice Harrison, who has since gone to his final rest after a short but brilliant career, and whose death is a great public loss. (Hear, hear.) The Government of the Dominion selected Sir Francis Hincks, a resident of Montreal, whose ability and fitness for the post all acknowledged as soon as his name was announced. The third arbitrator selected was the British Minister at Washington, who had been concerned in similar inquiries before, a gentleman of great ability, and in whose judgment and impartiality all parties could have confidence. I believe that the general sentiment was, that it would not have been possible to find three gentlemen, either in the Privy Council or elsewhere, who were more likely than these were to arrive at a sound conclusion, or whose conclusion would be more generally accepted as satisfactory. You know the result ; by the award of the arbitrators a large addition has been made to the territory over which Ontario had theretofore exercised jurisdiction. Among all the important questions which the Government of Ontario has had to deal with since Confederation, none was of greater moment to our future than this question of the boundary between Ontario and the Dominion ; and the award that we have obtained gives to us, not all that we asked for, and not all that we could and did give pretty strong arguments in support of, but all that our people really desire, and as much as the Province can make beneficial use of. (Applause.) And so another of the important and difficult problems which the Government had to deal with was settled, and settled satisfactorily.

#### Consolidation of the Statutes.

Again—the statute law of the Province was in a state of chaos when we took office. It was many years before that time that the statute law of Canada had been consolidated. Since that consolidation annual volumes of statutes had been making their appearance ; these repealed some of the laws as they stood in 1859, when the first consolidation took place, and altered and amended others ; dead law had necessarily become mixed up with living law in every volume ; and no volume except the last of the series showed or could show which of the enactments in it were still in force and which were not. If you wanted to know what the statute law was on any subject, you had to consult perhaps twenty

indexes and twenty volumes before you could be reasonably sure what the law was ; and it was with fear and trembling that even a lawyer gave his opinion on any matter of statutory law with which he did not happen to be familiar, lest there should be some enactment somewhere which had some bearing on the matter in hand in some way, and had escaped his attention. The form of the law, facility for ascertaining what the law is, has been said by jurists to be as important as the law itself, if not more important. Then in the Consolidated Statutes of 1859, and the subsequent volumes up to Confederation, laws now within the authority of the Provincial Legislature and laws beyond our authority were necessarily intermingled. To provide a remedy for the state of things which I have described, we appointed a Commission (of which I was myself a member,) for the purpose of assisting in the consolidation and revision of our whole statute law, striking out everything that was dead, and everything that was seen to be beyond Provincial jurisdiction ; collecting the scattered enactments upon every subject, and fusing them into one chapter ; classifying the Acts thus consolidated ; arranging them in the most convenient way for easy reference ; and providing one index for the whole, instead of the twenty indexes attached to the existing volumes. One of the absurd charges made against us is, that we employed a Commission for the purpose of doing, or assisting in doing, this work. There never yet was an important consolidation or revision of the laws of any country that was not done by a Commission, and it is impossible to discharge work of this kind otherwise than by a Commission. A majority of the Commissioners held judicial offices. I may say further, that there never was a Commission for revising the statute law of any State or country which, in view of the comparative extent of the work, cost nearly as little as our Commission cost. The work too, I may add, was done as well as the work of the best paid Commissioners that had ever similar work to do in any country I know of. (Cheers.) Upwards of twelve hundred public general statutes had to be examined, compared, and arranged, and these were ultimately reduced by consolidation to two hundred and twenty-four. In the course of the work the whole body of the statute law underwent legislative revision, as well as consolidation. And so we disposed of this very important matter ; and the people are in possession of the results of our work.

#### Other Legislation.

When the Reform Government took office there were many subjects on which prompt legislation was needed. Legislation was needed in regard to the arrangement of the constituencies ; in regard to the election laws ; in regard to the courts ; in regard to our municipal institutions ; in regard to our laws of property ; in regard to the solemnization of marriages ; and in regard to a great many other subjects : and we have dealt with them all ; and I venture to say we have dealt with them satisfactorily, according to the judgment of our friends and of very many who were not our political friends. Indeed, most of the Acts which have been passed were not even objected to by our opponents, or were objected to very slightly and by very few. I have the satisfaction of knowing that our legislation has been more successful than the most sanguine of our friends seven years ago had looked

for, and has frequently received the express approval of both our friends and others. (Cheers.) Legislation is the chief work which a Legislature meets from time to time to perform.

#### The Finances.

I wish now to say something more respecting our finances, and how it was deemed best that the money at our command from year to year, and the revenue accumulations of previous years, should be employed. Mr. Sandfield Macdonald was the first Premier. At the time he took office it was impossible to foresee, with that degree of certainty necessary for action, what would be the normal revenue under Provincial management, or what under the new system the annual wants and requirements of the Province would be. The amount of the debt for which Ontario and Quebec were liable to the Dominion was also unascertained. For these reasons it was necessary at the start to be very cautious in expenditure. Mr. Sandfield Macdonald was also a man who in public matters loved not to spend, (Hear.) He was a personal friend of my own; we had been on the same side of the House during the whole period that I was a member before accepting a judgeship; and I was for a time his colleague as Postmaster-General when he was Premier of Canada. When the temporary Coalition Government was proposed, to which we are indebted for Confederation, he attended the Reform caucus previous to the formation of the Government, and was one of those who voted that three representatives of the Reform party should go into that Government, though he did not wish to be one of the three. I was selected as one of them; but shortly afterwards I left political life, and I had no part in those subsequent contests in which Mr. Sahdfield Macdonald and the majority of Reformers differed from one another. But I had always a very great respect for Mr. Macdonald, from what I had known of him while politically his ally or his colleague. I knew how careful he was in (amongst other things) all matters of finance; indeed, the saving of money in public matters had with him been almost a passion. To such causes in part it was owing that he commenced the Provincial expenditure on a very low scale; but even with him the annual expenditure was constantly increasing. For instance, in 1868 his expenditure was \$1,192,356; in 1869 it ran up to \$1,444,608; in 1870 it was \$1,580,663; and in 1871 it was \$1,816,866; all these sums left a considerable unexpended surplus of revenue. Now, what should be done with this surplus? That was a matter upon which there was a good deal of discussion before Mr. Sandfield Macdonald lost power; and the discussion continued afterwards. Mr. Macdonald made up his mind in his last year that a million and a half of the surplus should go to railways.

#### Railway Expenditure.

Unfortunately, however, in setting aside that amount he was induced to take into the hands of the Government the decision as to the particular railways to be aided. The Act setting aside that sum provided that the selection of the railways should be by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, not by the Legislature, not with the sanction of the Legislature, not even after notice to the Legislature or to the public. The appropriation to a railway might be made, and the money might be expended, long before either Parliament or the country would know anything about the appropriation. There was no practical restriction

upon the power of the Government in the matter, except that the amount per mile was not to be less than \$2,000, and was not to exceed \$4,000, but between those sums, what the bonus should be was left entirely to the Government of the day. No notice had to be published in the *Gazette* of what the Government was doing, no return was even required by the Act to be made to the Legislature. The recital in the Act professed to restrict grants by the Government to railways which should lead to our free grant territory, or which should lead to inland waters, or which should run through thinly settled tracts of country. What part of Ontario, needing railway aid, would not come within one or the other of those descriptions? The people disapproved of that large power being placed in the hands of a Government; and it was on this account that at the next general election the Government was unsuccessful, more than for any other act or omission with which the Government had been charged. Such an assumption of authority was contrary to the spirit of our constitutional system. It was contrary to the spirit of representative government that so large a power should be given to any Government as was provided by the statute. I cannot but suspect that it was not by Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's own desire or suggestion that this power was taken by the Governor-in-Council. His Government was a Coalition. The members of it did not belong to the same political school, and had been opposed to one another upon the old issues. Of course, coming together in a Government, they had to give way to one another. I can well understand some of the colleagues of Mr. Macdonald desiring this large power to be taken by the Governor-in-Council, but it was so contrary to what was to be expected from the whole political life of Mr. Macdonald himself, that I have little doubt this feature of his railway scheme was one of those matters in which he in his turn gave way to some of his colleagues, as in other matters they gave way to him. There must always be compromises of that kind in such a Government; and those who knew Mr. Macdonald well in the olden time can have little doubt that this error in his Railway Act was one of the compromises. Except in this all-important respect, his Railway Act was a very good Act, and, after being divested of its objectionable provisions, it has since been worked with great public advantage. In the first session after Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's Government fell, his successor, Mr. Blake, who had always fully recognized the value of railways in developing the resources of the country and in augmenting its wealth, induced the Legislature to increase the appropriation from \$1,500,000 to \$1,900,000, and also to appropriate \$100,000 a year for twenty years for the same object. Additional appropriations were made in my time. Up to the last day of December, 1877, we had paid in aid of railways \$2,035,960. (Cheers.) These payments were made to railways which had already received the approbation of the localities through which they passed, as shown by their previously contributing to the same roads upwards of seven millions of dollars (\$7,089,480), being more than three times the amount which the Government has so paid. By this means upwards of 1,000 miles of new railway in various parts of the Province had been built by the end of 1877; and the total expenditure since 1872, from all sources, in respect of the railways aided by the Province, including the bonuses which I have mentioned, was nearly \$22,000,000.

### Why the Depression fell lightly upon us.

The period during which this large amount of money was expended was a period of depression, arising from causes which have been discussed considerably of late, which most of you are now familiar with, and which did not affect one nation only, but affected the entire commercial world. It is a remarkable fact that though Ontario shared in the depression, it suffered less than most other countries did; and one cause of that circumstance undoubtedly was, that during that trying period these twenty-two millions of dollars were being expended in the building of the local railways of the country. (Hear, hear.) It was not only the spending of that large sum that made us feel the depression less than it was felt elsewhere. The railways so built increased values generally, as fast as the railways were completed. They increased, in the country through which they passed, the value of farm property, of farm labour, and of farm products; they diminished the expense and difficulty of bringing products to market; they led to the creation of new villages, and they increased the prosperity of villages and towns already existing. These railways served, too, to facilitate the settlement of our unoccupied lands, to promote commercial and social intercourse, and in various ways directly and indirectly they added to the wealth, the comfort, and the general well-being of the people. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Our railway expenditure, leading as it did to so many direct and so many incidental advantages, constituted a very important factor in the cause of the comparative freedom which this Province enjoyed from the distress that prevailed in other countries.

### The Surplus Distribution.

But our railway expenditure was not the only expenditure of Provincial funds which contributed to that condition of things. I have already stated that in the settlement of the Municipal Loan Fund Debt question we relieved, either wholly or partially, as the case required, important sections of the country from debts which for years had been weighing them down, and in various ways retarding or forbidding their prosperity. Besides that relief, we made a large expenditure in order to compensate unindebted municipalities for what had been done for indebted municipalities. If the Legislature relieved the latter, it was simple justice to all those municipalities that were not in debt, and had long been assisting in paying the debts of others, that they should receive some compensation; and the compensation provided by the Legislature on our recommendation was, an allowance to every municipality in the Province of \$2 per head of their population, and an additional allowance on a fixed principle to those municipalities that had already spent money on railways. Under this scheme we had paid out to the unindebted municipalities, up to the end of December, 1877, more than three millions of dollars (\$3,117,225); and this money has been employed by the municipalities in various objects of public utility selected by themselves. The statute setting the money apart required that it should be employed in the respective localities, either in the payment of debts, or in objects of permanent usefulness, and not frittered away in current expenses.

And how did the municipalities expend the money? They expended it as follows:

In Roads and bridges.....	\$1,158,746 34
In paying debts caused by granting aid to railways.....	963,734 50
In paying other debts incurred for permanent works not specified.....	28,579 56
In educational purposes, including schoolhouses built, school debts paid, and investments for school purposes.....	652,058 32
In building and improving town halls..... (72 town halls have been built or paid for, and a large number of markets and lock-ups).....	145,114 22
In town and village improvements, by construction of water-works, making sidewalks, planting shade-trees, and buying steam fire-engines.....	76,432 65
In making and improving harbours.....	40,947 19
In drainage.....	27,362 27
In paying share of cost of county buildings and aiding in the erection of mills and manufactories.....	11,382 50
In buying and laying out public parks and agricultural society grounds.....	4,598 00
In the purchase and improvement of cemeteries.....	1,917 02
In aid given to unorganized districts, in making roads and bridges, and building schools.....	6,352 50
Total.....	\$3,117,325 07

This large amount has thus been employed in works or for purposes which either would otherwise not have been undertaken, or would have been undertaken by an increase of public burdens, and by the direct taxation of the people of the municipalities making the expenditure.

Another item of Provincial expenditure which contributed something to lessen the depression in the localities affected by the expenditure, was the sum of \$328,380 advanced from Provincial funds for municipal drainage purposes, and the purchase of drainage debentures.

#### General Financial Results.

This sum, together with the amounts previously mentioned as paid to railways and in surplus distribution, make a total of upwards of 5½ million dollars (\$5,539,565) expended since 1871 in these ways for the benefit of the people. There is no ground for saying that these expenditures should have come, or were intended or supposed to have come, out of the annual revenue. Our whole scheme of surplus distribution was founded on the fact of possessing an unexpended surplus. And so with regard to the railway expenditure, whether as projected by Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's Government, or as carried out by the Governments which succeeded his.

The aggregate sum under the three heads which I have specified exceeded by upwards of a million of dollars Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's unexpended revenue surplus. If we had no surplus now, and if in that respect we were now no better off than any other Province is (for not one of them has a surplus), the mode of employing the surplus was such as to entitle my friends and myself to look for a renewal of the confidence and support of the people. (Loud cheers.) We did not think it a good thing, and it would not have been a good

thing, to hoard up the money which was in the public treasury, or was coming into it ; and we therefore employed it in ways that were far better, and more beneficial to the people, than hoarding it in banks would have been. (Hear, hear.) If we had not only employed every cent of the old surplus from all sources, and had nothing of it now remaining, but if we had also used up the whole annual revenue of every year in necessary or useful annual expenditure, we should have been justified in asking you for your continued confidence, on the ground that the expenditure was wise and proper—was such as the country has derived more than corresponding benefit from, continues to derive such benefit from, and will continue to profit by for years to come. (Cheers.)

But, apart from these items which I have thus mentioned, our average annual expenditure for other purposes has been within our average revenue, and the result is, that there is a surplus, and a large surplus, still. Newspaper writers and stump speakers talk occasionally about our having annual deficits ; and they make a show of proving it by mixing up figures which ought to be kept separate. Those who so mix them ought to know that in doing so they are making deceptive statements. If we had paid away the old surplus, and had also been expending more than our revenue since, how is it that we have a surplus still ?

#### The Assets of the Province.

For we still have on hand untouched, of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's investments in Dominion stock and Dominion bonds, about two millions of dollars, notwithstanding our surplus distribution, our railway payments, our drainage investments, and the large annual calls for public buildings, colonization roads, other public works, and the hundred necessary or useful purposes to which public money is annually voted by the people's representatives.

At the end of December, 1877, we had investments and other assets as follows (omitting the cents) :—

Stock, bonds, and drainage debentures.....	\$2,740,144
Special trust funds with the Dominion of Canada, and paying us five per cent .....	2,699,407
Cash deposits in the banks.....	552,896
Value of library of Province of Canada in hands of Dominion, our share, (besides interest) as found by the arbitrators, Col. Gray and Hon. D. L. Macpherson, and to be paid to us by the Dominion.....	105,541
Due to the Province on account of the Municipal Fund debts not yet sold or satisfied .....	154,385
Total of these particulars.....	\$6,262,373

Or, including the cents, the amount is \$6,262,374 82. In giving you these figures I have mentioned Mr. Macpherson's name. I understand that the *Mail* of this morning contains an elaborate attack by the Senator on the Local Government, and on myself in particular. I was surprised when I heard this. I have not yet read his paper ; I dare say that it contains nothing material that is new ; but if it does it will be answered.

I have given you a statement of assets amounting to \$6,262,374.

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Now as to our debts :—The debt due to Quebec for school lands, in which, though situated in Ontario, the same arbitrators gave to Quebec a share, amounts to somewhere about \$270,052. Another item is for the Rockwood Asylum, which the Province lately bought from the Dominion for \$96,500; our other institutions unfortunately not being large enough to accommodate the increasing number of unhappy lunatics. These two debts make \$366,552, and leave a balance of \$3,895,822. (Cheers.) Of this sum we had before December, 1877, appropriated to railways—to be paid if they should all be built, as I hope they will be—about \$940,789, over and above the two millions we had paid as before stated; and there were still at the date mentioned, of the sums appropriated on account of the surplus distribution, balances not yet called for amounting to about \$202,234. These two sums amount together to \$1,143,023. Taking that sum from the six millions (or in exact figures \$3,895,822) which I have before mentioned, there was a clear surplus of \$4,752,799, or about four and three-quarter millions of dollars, as matters stood on the 31st December, 1877; and there are debts due to us in respect of Crown lands and timber dues, etc., not taken into account in the statement which I have given to you. Thus, after all the large and beneficial expenditure for railways, and in surplus distribution; after the investments in drainage debentures; and after carrying on the whole government of the country in a most efficient and vigorous way, we still had left at that date, to be disposed of as the people of this country might from time to time think best, a

#### **Surplus of nearly Five Millions of Dollars.**

The figures of expenditure which I have given to you do not include large sums which were voted for important objects of a permanent character and which would be treated elsewhere as on capital account, but had been paid by us out of current revenue. Thus, up to the end of 1877 we had expended, beside all the figures that I have given you, on

#### **Public Works and Buildings.**

No less a sum than \$1,870,992; and on colonization roads, through unsettled territory from which we derive a large territorial revenue, \$583,681. These expenditures also helped, both directly and indirectly, to promote the prosperity of the country, and to lessen the distress already referred to.

#### **Why the Expenditure was Increased.**

Having funds in hand beyond annual necessities, and having to consider from year to year how best to employ these funds, besides the expenditure that I have mentioned the Legislature have thought it right to increase several of the customary grants. The expenditure for purposes of

#### **Education**

Was one of these. The average annual expenditure by the Government for educational objects up to 1871, Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's last year, was \$337,923; the average annual expenditure since has been \$491,-618; for we believed that we could not employ public money more use-

fully than in promoting the education of the people. (Cheers.) Education advances the general interests in every way—economically, socially, politically, morally, and religiously. The education of the people is in fact the most important object which can receive public attention; and there is nothing, as I rejoice to see, which our people more prize than educational facilities for their children. (Loud applause.) They have shown that feeling in many ways, and among others in this, that, while we have been assisting in this great work with larger grants than before, the local expenditure by the people for the same object has increased far more than ours has; they expend year by year far more money on educational purposes than such sums as they receive from the Government. For example, the local expenditure on Public and Separate Schools and High Schools for 1876 was not far from four millions of dollars, viz., \$3,699,546. The Province only contributed \$524,493 (part of which sum is included in the local expenditure). The people have built and are building better schools, they are paying better salaries to their teachers, and they are availing themselves of school appliances of all kinds of an improved description. Our expenditure on education has increased from \$315,887, the amount in 1871—Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's last year—to \$549,792, the amount in 1877. But the people's total expenditure for the same object has increased, in respect of teachers' salaries from \$1,191,476 in 1871, to \$1,838,320 in 1876; and in respect of school sites, buildings, repairs, &c., from \$611,819 in 1871, to \$1,168,134 in 1876. I name 1876 because I have not at hand all the figures for 1877. Education is one of the objects for which, since we had the money, we have felt it a duty to recommend a more liberal expenditure than previously. I shall mention some others (for time does not admit of a full enumeration), that you may judge whether, having money to employ, we were right in giving to the various objects of expenditure which were within our control, more than had been given to them previously. Thus, upon

#### **Colonization Roads**

the average yearly expenditure up to 1871 was \$41,848; the average yearly expenditure for the subsequent period up to 1877 inclusive was \$97,280. So for

#### **Public Works**

the average expenditure up to 1871 was \$270,870, and for the subsequent period, \$311,832. In the

#### **Maintenance of Asylums**

and public institutions, the average expenditure up to 1871 was \$158,158; new institutions have been established since 1871; additions have been made which increased the accommodation afforded by the old buildings; and the average expense since has been \$315,533. There has been a larger number of unfortunate occupants of these institutions, and of course increase of expenditure necessarily followed. All the institutions referred to are conducted with the greatest possible economy consistent with their efficiency, and now compare favourably with similar institutions in other countries, for

both efficiency and economy. In all respects they are a credit to our Province; as visitors competent to judge are constantly testifying.

Again, in regard to

#### Agricultural, Literary and Scientific Societies.

the average annual expenditure up to 1871 was \$75,746, and the average annual expenditure since, up to 1877 inclusive, was \$89,982. I do not know any purpose to which we could have applied this amount of our extra funds (as we had extra funds) more properly than in the increase we have made in that item.

In the same manner I am prepared to account for, and to justify, every particular of increase which has taken place since 1871. Some increases have been from causes beyond governmental control; and every increase was in the public interest where the matter was within our control.

#### Alleged Deficits.

You see it sometimes stated in Opposition newspapers that we have been expending more, annually, than we have received for the year of the expenditure; and to a certain extent that is not only true, but we intended and proclaimed it from the first. The people could not have had those large sums expended amongst municipalities, and for railways, and so on, if we had absurdly and weakly determined to spend no more in a year for any purpose whatever than we should receive in that year. The position of the Province was this: We had a surplus revenue from other years, and it was avowedly upon that surplus that we were drawing. But what has been the practice of these opponents of ours, who talk and write so glibly about our so-called annual deficits? I have a memorandum here which has been taken from a return made by the officers of the Dominion as to the practice of Sir John Macdonald's Government during his day. And what does this return show? Why, for the year ending 31st December, 1858, he spent more than the revenue by \$3,375,317.

In 1859 by \$1,494,744.

In 1860 by \$1,973,989.

In 1861 by \$1,999,008.

In 1862 the excess was \$2,064,331.

And in 1863 the excess was \$870,490. For this last year my friend Mr. Sandfield Macdonald was the Premier, and he and his Government were responsible. The reference of our opponents to so-called deficits is made chiefly, I suppose, to confirm credulous followers of their own; but the figures which I have given ought to convince even them of the fallacy of the talk about our deficits. Indeed, one cannot but wonder at the simplicity of those who make it a charge against the Provincial Government that we have sometimes expended more than was received during the year, as we had it to spend; while their own friends used to spend far more than the revenue, though they could only do so by borrowing the money. (Cheers.)

#### Agricultural Legislation.

Some of our expenditure and some of our legislation have had to do in a special way with the farming community. Our general

expenditure, like our general legislation, directly benefits all classes equally; but our increased expenditure on matters which have a special interest for farmers has been a portion of that general increase with which we are absurdly charged as manifesting thereby extravagance and incapacity. In 1871 the vote for Agricultural Associations, &c., was \$65,100; in 1878, our last year, it was \$97,000 for the same objects. As we had extra money, why should we not give some of it to these objects? We have advanced 50 per cent. on the vote which I have mentioned. Let us look at some of the particulars included in this item. The Legislature voted for dairy associations in 1874, \$700, and since 1874 \$2,000 a year. In 1872 there was voted for the first time for sundry services in connection with agriculture and the arts, such as the investigation of the diseases of animals and crops, the ravages of insects, and other objects not otherwise provided for, the sum of \$1,000, and ever since 1874 the vote has been \$2,000 a year for the same objects. Last year we appropriated for a bureau of agricultural statistics, \$1,000. We have doubled the amount voted before our time to the Fruit-Growers' Association. We have added 50 per cent. to the customary grant to the Entomological Society, established for investigating the habits etc., of insects—a subject unfortunately only too important to our farmers. We have provided for the expenditure of \$200,000 in the purchase of drainage debentures to encourage the draining of portions of the country, through the Municipal Councils, by buying from them the debentures issued for this purpose at the low rate of interest of five per cent. The sums which we have paid in that way for the purchase of drainage debentures under an Act of our own, and for drainage works which have been executed by the government in different localities under an Act which was passed in 1871, and which provided for the repayment of these sums to the Province, amounted up to 31st December, 1877, to \$328,380. With this money there have been 200 miles of drains built, and an area drained of 203,100 acres.

Last session the Legislature went a little further in the same direction, and appropriated the further sum of \$200,000, on our recommendation made at the instance of leading farmers in the House and out of the House, who were connected with agricultural associations and otherwise; the money to be expended in tile drainage. The sums advanced are to be repaid to the Province by annual instalments in twenty years, and are lent at the low rate of five per cent.

Then we have for some years paid nothing towards immigration in the way of bonuses, except to farm laborers and domestic servants. There has always been, with the exception of a short period during the spring of the present year, a demand among our farmers for a larger number of farm laborers than could be supplied; and all of you know the difficulty of obtaining domestic servants, particularly in the country.

We have also made provision for giving the franchise to farmers' sons, and the propriety of doing so will be obvious to those who are acquainted with agricultural life in Ontario. We had already provided an income franchise, by which residents in cities and towns were chiefly benefited. Now, it is the well-known custom in this country for one or two of a farmer's sons to remain on the homestead, after coming of age, to assist their parents in working and managing the

farm ; an extremely desirable arrangement, and one to be encouraged both for the comfort of the old people and the benefit of the sons. These farmer's sons are, as a class, well educated, and quite as intelligent as either income voters, or as those who live on farms of their own ; having had the advantage of our excellent school system, which perhaps their fathers had not. The Legislature thought, therefore, that no sufficient reason existed why that class of persons, living and working on their father's farms, and being practically partners therein, should not be permitted to vote, though they might have no separate property.

We have also, in the interest of farmers, an Agricultural College and a Model Farm, in successful and beneficial operation.

#### **Cost of Civil Government.**

In connection with the matter of expenditure, Opposition journals point to the cost of civil government as having been greater since Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's time than it had been in his time. But it is manifest that as a country advances, as its population increases, as its wealth increases, and as its public affairs extend and become complicated, the cost of civil government must increase, and always does increase everywhere. (Hear hear.) To illustrate this, take a single fact connected with the expense of the governmental departments in the old Province of Canada. In 1853, the year before Sir John A. Macdonald and his friends obtained the power which they held so long, the expense of the governmental departments was only \$144,415, but it ran up thenceforward year by year until in 1862 it amounted to more than three times that sum, or \$486,620, and it cannot be pretended that ours has even doubled in amount. You see, therefore, how absurd it is for those who believe in the men under whom that increase took place to pretend, or to consider, that it is a decisive argument, or any argument, against a Government that there has been an increase in the expense of Civil administration. There are various reasons why some increase would have taken place in Ontario, even if there had been no increase in the business done ; but without dwelling upon these, and assuming that there had been no increase in the cost of living, that we had been able to retain in the service every officer without any increase to his salary, and that there was no reason why the same amount of work should not continue to be done at the same cost, I affirm that the increase in the work has far exceeded the increase in the expenditure. If you farmers or merchants, or other employers have to get double the work done, you expect (other things being the same) that the cost of doing it will be increased likewise. If you could manage to get double the work done, while only increasing the cost of it one-half, I think you would consider yourselves pretty fortunate men. To what extent has the work of civil government increased ? Take for instance the

#### **Department of the Attorney-General**

and the Executive Council. You will easily understand that there must have arisen a large amount of new business from (for example) our surplus distribution, which was one addition to all the old classes of work. All the municipal by-laws had to be examined to ascertain that they corresponded with the Act, and this often entailed a great

deal of consideration and correspondence. Then the aid given from time to time to railways was the result of an examination of every case in which aid had been asked for. We have to examine in every case, the capabilities of the road, and all other facts which bear on the propriety of assisting it. Railways apply to which we give no aid, but the rejected applications as well as the successful applications involve labour to several of the departments, including my own. From these and various other causes the work has greatly increased, both to the head of the department and to its officers; to what extent you may understand from one or two facts which I will mention. There is a separate official file kept for every important matter which passes through my department; one file may embrace a large number of documents and papers. In 1871, the last year of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's administration, the number of official files in this department was 806, the next year it was 1,454; and in 1877 it had risen to 1,707. Orders in Council in 1871 numbered 237; the following year 298; in one year of my time the number was 703; and the average during the period subsequent to 1871 has been double what it was before that time. Again, the comparative number of letters written in a department or office or business in successive years is generally a very good index of the comparative amount of business done. In 1871 the official letters of this department covered 230 pages, in 1872 they covered 1,133 pages, and in 1877 they covered 2,594 pages. These figures demonstrate if anything can demonstrate, that the amount of business done in the office of the Executive Council and Attorney-General has more than doubled since Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's time. Now has the expense doubled? Far from it. In 1871 the expense of the department was \$10,241, and in 1877, instead of being twice the amount, or \$20,000, it was only \$14,690. (Cheers.) In other words, though the business had more than doubled, the expense had only increased by one-half. Again, the

#### **Administration of Justice**

is another head of expenditure in which there has been an increase; and it is one of those matters which to a large extent are not under the control of a Government; but, on the contrary, depend on circumstances which the Government cannot influence in the slightest degree. That the work must have enormously increased, the comparative number of commitments to the gaols will help to indicate. In 1869 the number was 5,655; in 1870 it was 6,379; in 1871, 6,615; and it has gone on increasing year by year, till in 1877 the number had reached 13,481. This increase, I may observe, is no doubt partly owing to the hard times; it is found by experience in all countries, that during hard times the number of crimes of all kinds greatly increases. I have said that in 1877 the number of commitments was 13,481, being more than double the number in Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's last year. From this you will see how impossible it would be to administer justice under such circumstances without some increase in the expenditure, and you would not be surprised if the expense had doubled. Other facts which I might mention would lead to a like conclusion. But has the expense doubled? Far from it. In 1871 the expense for the administration of justice was \$182,621, and in 1876, instead of being double that amount, or say \$365,000, it was only \$286,591. I will give you another illustration from the

### Provincial Secretary's Office.

From a variety of causes a great deal more work has been done there also than there formerly was. Some of the legislation which has taken place, and which has received the approbation of the country, involved a considerable amount of additional labor on the part of the Provincial Secretary and his Department. The matter of municipal statistics was formerly in charge of the Dominion Government : they abandoned it in 1874, and it has since been among the duties of the Provincial Secretary. Then there was a change of the law with regard to marriage licenses, which were also formerly attended to by the Dominion Government. That subject was taken in hand by the Provincial Government in 1874, and 850 issuers of licenses in the Province have been appointed, with whom the Provincial Secretary has to correspond. The number of licenses issued from the Department in 1877 was 12,957. The Provincial Secretary had the pleasure of making nearly that number of couples happy in that year. The Departmental work incidental to this legislation is work that Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's Government had neither the pleasure nor the trouble of performing. There are charters and commissions issued from the same Department, and perhaps some other work occasionally done, for which fees are paid by the parties interested. Of these fees there were received in 1871, \$2,283 ; but in 1876, \$5,434 ; and in 1877, \$6,235, being an increase of more than 100 per cent. Another occasion of increased work was the new Act passed to afford increased facilities for persons to become incorporated by obtaining letters patent from the Lieut.-Governor, instead of having to submit to the delay, expense and trouble of getting special Acts of Incorporation from Parliament. The consequence of that legislation has been, that a far large number of these charters has been obtained than formerly, through the Provincial Secretary's Department; the time of the Legislature has been saved; and the country spared the expense which the old method involved. The number of letters patent issued for the Incorporation of Companies, under the general law which existed before ours, was 120 for the ten years, from 1864 to 1874 ; while during the years subsequent to the passage of our Act, say from 1874 to 12th of Oct., 1878, the number was 212, or nearly twice the number in four years and a few months, that had been issued in the ten years previous. In other words, during the former period the annual average was 12, while in the subsequent time the annual average was more than 40. Many other Associations have been incorporated under our Act respecting Benevolent and Provident Societies. But for these Acts and our policy of opposing special Acts when unnecessary, there would probably have been an addition of more than 50 statutes to every volume since 1873. Again in 1871, the number of returns made from this office to the other departments of the Government was 912; but in 1876 the number was 2,979, or three times as many. The number of reports from other Departments in 1871 was 470, and in 1876 it was 1,288, or nearly three times as many. The number of letters received in this Department in 1871 was 1,690 ; and in 1876, 3,300 ; or nearly double. The number of letters sent in 1871 was 1,280, and in 1876 it was 3,246, or nearly three times as many. You will see by these figures that the amount of work in this Department is at the very least

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double what it was in Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's time. And has the expenditure also more than doubled? No; for in 1871 it was \$19,176, and in 1877 it was only \$22,552. (Hear, hear.) In fact, the increased revenue from one small branch of the work in the Provincial Secretary's office, as mentioned a moment ago, is about \$3,000, and therefore, has nearly covered the whole additional expenditure of the Department. So that notwithstanding the enormous increase of work, the country pays about the same for the administration of the Provincial Secretary's Department as was paid in 1871.

I may review elsewhere the case of some of

#### The other Departments

But I think I must have satisfied everybody, from the statements which I have already made, that an increase in the expense of civil government was absolutely unavoidable, and that the wonder is, not that the increase of expense has been so great, but that it has not been far greater. (Hear hear, and cheers). Knowing the amount of necessary business that we have been doing, I am greatly surprised that we have been able to accomplish so much with so little additional expense. We should not have been able to do so but that I have able colleagues in all the departments, and that the officers in the various departments have been becoming more and more efficient. As they become more efficient and entitled to an increase of salary, we have recommended that they should receive the increase. If we had refused it, we could not have expected useful officials to remain; or if some remained, we could not expect them to work as heartily as the public interests require that they should do. Most of these officers were appointed by our opponents, and the sympathies of most of them have been with our opponents. But for their increased salaries they have done more work; and, as a rule, the increase in the work that they have done has been equivalent to more than the increase of the salaries which the Legislature has given to them. So much for the finances of the country.

#### Our Legislation.

I have already referred to our legislation, and have spoken of some of the subjects which have occupied our attention. I had some thought of giving you to-night an enumeration of our principal measures, and explaining some of them; but it would be tedious to do so now. We have not, I think, been charged with inactivity as legislators; we have not been afraid of large questions; we have not refused to deal with important subjects; we have not shrank from difficult ones; the whole history of our legislation shows this. At the last Provincial general election, so thorough had our previous legislation been, so completely had we exhausted the subjects which our people had theretofore been interested about, that I think the only charge of legislative omission which our opponents pretended to make was, that we had not up to that time passed a law for the payment of Crown witnesses in criminal cases! That was rather a strange charge to bring against us as a reason why the people should not place confidence in us; for our opponents or their leaders had held the Government of the country in their hands almost continuously from 1854 until 1872; and they had failed all that

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time to deal with the subject. But some time after their party went out of power they began to represent such a law to be so urgent, so anxiously demanded by the people, that it should be thought out by us, and framed, and passed, at once. But one can account for their eagerness. There was nothing substantial to make capital out of ; and for the sake of not admitting, or not seeming to admit, that such was the case, they brought the charge that we had not provided for the payment of crown witnesses. The Legislature has since passed such a law. We framed a Bill for the purpose as soon as we had thoroughly considered what was necessary and had collected the needed information ; and our Bill provided such safeguards and restrictions that, though considerable apprehension had always been entertained that a very large sum would be required, the amount under our Act has turned out to be so moderate that nobody has felt it a burden. The amount is paid, partly by the municipal counties and partly by the Government, and in proportions which have met with approval.

#### **Exemptions from Taxation.**

Since the last election we have disposed of almost every subject that has been suggested as demanding legislation. We have done so either by legislating, or by making clear that the subject did not at present demand legislation. There is but one agitated subject which we have not dealt with ; and that is, the existing exemptions from municipal assessment. The present law on that subject has stood on the statute book in nearly its present form for over a quarter of a century. The party of our opponents was in power during a large portion of that period, and they did not attempt to put an end to the exemptions or even to modify them. Even supposing we should fail to do so, even supposing that we have been wrong in not having given due attention to it hitherto, certainly no point can be made against us on that account, since our opponents had been very much longer in power than we have been, and they did not dispose of it. The question of exemptions is a difficult one. It is one of especial interest to cities where Government property is situated, and to towns within which county property lies. But there are other aspects of the question which are of more extensive interest, and which we are now considering. A committee was appointed by the House last session, at the instance of the Government, to collect information from Municipal Councils, and from all persons taking an interest in the subject. This Committee has obtained and reported information with regard also to what has been done in other countries; and I hope that we may be able to devise and submit some measure which may meet the difficulties of the case, and give satisfaction to all parties. But when there is but one general measure which it is said we ought to have brought forward, besides those which have already been placed on the statute book, the fact is a pretty clear indication that we have not hitherto neglected our duty as legislators.

I have touched on some of the most important of the affairs which the present Government has had to do with, and I do not feel that I have the strength to occupy much more of your time to-night.

**Personal.**

It continues to be sometimes said that I did an unjustifiable thing when I gave up the office of Vice-Chancellor in order to take upon me the office of Premier of Ontario ; and my acceptance of this office is still spoken of occasionally as a descent on my part. I do not regard it as a descent, but the contrary. Political life has been spoken of in this connection as a slough, by some who attack me on account of having left the Bench for public life. It may be a slough to those who make the charge (hear; hear) ; but in my judgment there are no duties more important than those that belong to one occupying the position which I now occupy. I left the office of Vice-Chancellor with great reluctance, because I liked its duties ; and it was a permanent office ; a good salary was attached to it ; and a pension for old age ; and it was an office which secures for its holder the respect of the people. For personal reasons as well as others, I left the Bench with reluctance ; but I feel now that I did well in leaving it. (Loud applause.) If the position which I took involved, as it did, some personal sacrifices, I think that by good fortune I have been enabled to do a larger amount of good to my country than I could have done had I remained Vice-Chancellor. (Great cheering.) It is a country of great promise,

**THIS ONTARIO OF OURS,**

(cheers), and its present good government is of great importance to its future destiny. It is my own native Province ; it is the Province within which my interests and my affections lie. It is the richest, and the most populous of all the Provinces of Canada. Its territory extends from the Ottawa on the east to the Lake of the Woods on the west ; and reaches from the St. Lawrence and the great lakes on the south, away back to Hudson's Bay on the north. (Cheers.) Its extent from east to west is upwards of a thousand miles. Its area is more than twice that of Great Britain and Ireland together. It has unbounded undeveloped wealth in its woods and forests, its fields, its fisheries, and its mines. (Cheers.) Its population is increasing with a rapidity that is almost wonderful. At the time of the union with Lower Canada our population was not half a million. In ten years it had doubled ; in another ten years it had trebled ; in 1871 it amounted to the large number of 1,620,851 ; and it has been increasing ever since. This population is from nearly all the countries in the world. A large proportion are natives, like myself, of Ontario ; a large proportion also are natives of the old lands. The sturdy Englishman, the thrifty Scotchman, and the warm-hearted Irishman have a large representation among us. We have many who came, or whose fathers came, from Germany, France and other countries of Europe. There are no people in the world better fed, better fed, or better educated than the people of Ontario are.

Immigrants are, as a rule, the more energetic and sanguine of the classes to which in the old lands they belonged. (Hear, hear.) There is no country in the world better adapted than Ontario is for developing a thrifty, hardy and energetic race. Our Province has thus a glorious future before it ; an immense population is yet to occupy its territory ; and in the position in which your confidence and the confidence of the people of Ontario have placed me, I have done my best,

in conjunction with my colleagues, and those who have given to us their support in the Legislature, to develop the resources of this country of our affection, our pride, and our hope (cheers); to administer efficiently its public affairs; and to provide good laws for the government of its people; and for the prosperity of all its interests. I venture to think that, in the judgment of our friends, and of a great many who are not our political friends, we have not been entirely unsuccessful in this work. And for myself, with whatever increased efficiency experience has given me, I purpose, with God's help, to pursue in all respects the same course in the future, that I have followed in the past. (Loud cheers.)

At the conclusion of Mr. Mowat's speech the following resolution, moved by Mr. John Douglas, and seconded by Mr. Henry Parker, was carried with enthusiastic cheers:—

That the taxpayers of North Oxford at this meeting assembled express the pleasure that we have felt in listening to the clear, able, and convincing exposition which our representative, Hon. Oliver Mowat, has given of the policy of his Government, and our perfect confidence in his ability and the integrity with which he has administered the affairs of this Province, and we pledge ourselves to do all in our power to maintain in power the best and purest administration that Ontario has ever had. We desire to thank him for visiting his constituents at this time, and to express the pleasure which we always feel in seeing him in our midst.

The meeting was concluded with the usual cheers.

# THE PREMIER'S SPEECH

BEFORE THE

## TORONTO YOUNG MEN'S REFORM LITERARY AND DEBATING CLUB

WEDNESDAY EVENING, JANUARY 8TH, 1879.

The following is a full report of a speech delivered by the Premier of Ontario on Wednesday, 8th January, 1879, before the Reform Literary and Debating Club in Toronto :—

Hon. Mr. MOWAT, on coming forward, was warmly cheered. He said :—  
Mr. Chairman and gentlemen,—It gave me very great pleasure some time ago to accept an invitation from your President to be present at one of your meetings and to say something to the Reform Literary and Debating Club, and I regret exceedingly that circumstances from time to time prevented my naming for this purpose an earlier day. I rejoice to learn that the Club is in a flourishing condition. I am glad to know that you have been zealous in acquiring political information, and in acquiring the skill to set it forth, that you may be able to render greater service in the cause of good government than you could otherwise do. I understand that many of you were active in the recent Dominion elections; I hope that at the next general election for the Local Assembly your work will be more successful than it was then. (Cheers.) Of course the issues are entirely different. Those things which led many of our friends on that occasion to vote with their former opponents were matters with which the Local Legislature has nothing to do. There is not the slightest reason why those friends who so voted on that occasion should not vote with their old associates in politics at the coming Provincial elections, and I hope that they will all be found doing so. (Hear, hear.) As one of the objects which you have in view here is to get familiar with the subjects which will be under discussion at those elections, I suppose that I cannot do better than to avail myself of this opportunity to review some of the legislation accomplished under Reform Government in the Province, and to say something of our administration of public affairs.

### ◆ The Importance of Legislation. ◆

You do not hear or read much against the legislation of the Reform party. More is said in regard to our administration of public affairs; though I venture to say that there is as little reason for attacking our administration as there is for attacking our legislation. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Legislation is quite as important as administration. (Hear, hear.) Our legislative jurisdiction is large. It embraces the subjects to

which the greater part of the legislation of all countries relates, and nearly all the subjects embraced in the civil codes of civilized nations. We are in a new country; we are surrounded with new circumstances; and no Government does its duty which does not keep a watchful eye for all ameliorations of law which may serve to promote the well-being of the people. I purpose occupying your attention for a little while to-night in speaking of what we have done in the way of legislation. I will particularize a few of our measures, and I shall do so that you may be reminded how extensive and beneficial the legislation has been; for as it is not a subject of attack, people are apt to lose sight of it. (Hear, hear.) They may be familiar with those things which are kept before them by controversy, while those matters which are not discussed are apt to be overlooked, though they may be the more important of the two.

Perhaps the most important Provincial session under Reform rule was that in which Mr. Blake was the leader, after the fall of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's Government. Of the important measures then passed I may refer first to the

#### **Abolition of Dual Representation.**

the disqualifying of members of the House of Commons from being members of the Provincial Assembly. The two jurisdictions are distinct and unconnected, and demand so much time that it was thought impossible for the same person to discharge satisfactorily the important duties of both. That was strongly felt by the people, and something was done by Mr. Sandfield Macdonald to remove the grievance. He procured the passing of a law that no Senator or member of the Privy Council should be a member of the Provincial Assembly, and that no member of the House of Commons should be a member of the Executive Council of the Province. He stopped there, however. Under Mr. Blake's leadership the Legislature went further, and passed a law disqualifying members of the House of Commons from sitting or voting as members of the House of Assembly after the then next election for the House of Commons. (Hear, hear.) Before that time arrived, and to prevent Mr. Blake and Mr. Mackenzie from remaining in the Local Assembly for another session, Sir John Macdonald and his party passed an Act disqualifying members of a Provincial Assembly from being even candidates for the House of Commons.

There is nothing more important than to secure by every proper means the

#### **Independence of the House of Assembly;**

and the abolition of dual representation had some effect in that way. Another of the measures of the session was directed more closely to that object. It has in all countries and at all times been found by experience to be unfavourable to the independence of a representative of the people, and therefore to the public interest, that he should hold an office under the Crown yielding any considerable pecuniary advantage; and while some officials had been disqualified before Mr. Blake's time, there were others who had not, as, for instance, officials who were paid by fees, such as registrars. The public sentiment being strong that placemen of this class should, no more than placemen paid by salary, occupy seats in the Assembly, Mr. Blake swept away the last vestige of the evil referred to. (Hear, hear.) Another beneficial Act of that session was the

#### **Power given to Committees of the House to Swear Witnesses.**

The duties of such committees are very important; a large part of the legislative work depends on the efficiency of the committees; and we can hardly understand how so long a time was suffered to elapse in this

country—and the same observation applies to the Old Country—without giving to committees power (subject to reasonable restrictions) to examine witnesses on oath. Under the former system they called witnesses and examined them; but, though it might be essential for getting the truth from some of them that they should be sworn, yet that common safeguard, recognized for other purposes to be necessary, was not permitted, and witnesses gave their testimony without any such guarantee of veracity. Another measure of this session of much practical value was the authority given to the Government to invest a considerable sum—\$200,000—in the purchase of municipal drainage debentures for the purpose of

#### **Encouraging the Drainage of Wet Districts.**

These debentures are good securities to the Government, and the disposal of them enables municipalities to increase the value of the farms and other lands in their territory, adding to the wealth of the owner, and, at the same time, making the country more healthy. Another valuable measure of the same session was that concerning the

#### **Rights of Married Women.**

with respect to their property. You know how barbarous the old English laws on that subject were. They had been modified from time to time in Canada, but until this time a married woman was not entitled to her own earnings; a dissolute, drunken, or thriftless husband might take the whole, unless she went before a magistrate, proved her husband's misconduct, and obtained an order of protection. That was a proceeding which experience showed that few women cared to take, even though they were great sufferers, and it was unjust to require that a poor woman, besides the misfortune of having a bad husband, should be compelled to expose to the world the unhappy condition of herself and her children. A law was therefore passed which removed the injustice, and gave to a married woman a right to her own earnings without that previous process. (Hear, hear.) Other useful and beneficial measures were passed during the same session.

My Premiership followed Mr. Blake's, and during the period I have occupied this position, the Legislature has continued the work of reform. (Loud cheers.) I will not dwell upon our measure for settling the difficult question of the Municipal Loan Fund debts; nor upon our measure for distributing several millions of the surplus funds of the Province amongst the municipalities, to be expended in the promotion of such objects of permanent value as each municipality should select for itself. Those two measures occupied a very large share of public attention at the time, and were supported in the House, not merely by our own friends, but also by many of our political opponents, and received the general approbation of the country. I may next refer to measures which bear upon the political constitution of the country.

#### **Representation in the Legislature.**

The principle regulating local representation under the British North America Act was, that there should be the same number of representatives in the Local Assembly of Ontario that the Province had in the Dominion Parliament. That number was at first eighty-two. The principle of representation by population being recognized by this Act, Ontario, after the next census, got an additional representation of six members, making the number eighty-eight. There were inequalities in the constituencies in Upper Canada, and the general feeling was that there should be added to the representation of the Local Assembly the same number of seats, as had

been added to the representation for Dominion purposes. It was said at the time, and is sometimes still said, that, in arranging the constituencies for the purpose of providing six more seats, we did so for party purposes, and without reference to other considerations. The facts demonstrate the reverse. One of the new seats we gave to the new municipal County of Dufferin, all parties having always admitted that, as far as practicable, a municipal county should have a member, or two or more members, as the case might be, of its own. We had no idea that Dufferin would return a Reformer. I do not know that there is another county in the Province where, in a party contest, a Reformer would get a smaller vote than in Dufferin. I have said that the inequalities in the representation were very great. For instance, the town of Niagara had at the last census a population of 3,693 only. It returned a member, however; it was not even the county town of the county; St. Catharines was the county town, and had no member, but was represented only as part of the county of Lincoln. The average population by which a member was elected was 19,766, when the number of members was 82; or or 18,418 if the number of members should be 88; and when we were dealing with the subject of representation, it was impossible to defend, upon any fair principle, the leaving Niagara with its small population to have a member for itself, while Essex with upwards of 30,000 had but one member. What therefore did we do? We added the town of Niagara to the county of Lincoln—its own county—thereby, as we knew, making Lincoln a more Tory county than it was before; but it being a fair thing that Niagara should not have a member for itself, the only proper course, independently of party considerations, was that the town should, for representation purposes, be included in its own municipal county. It happened that the effect of taking a member from Niagara was to give two members to the county of Essex, which came next in population, after the other counties had been supplied whose population was larger. Essex at that time was represented by Mr. Albert Prince, a supporter of the Government. He maintained the claim of Essex to two members, though he gave it as his opinion that from local causes, if Essex were divided, it would return two Opposition members. But as on the principle of representation by population Essex was the county next entitled to another member, we felt it our duty to act upon that Reform principle, whether in that instance it should work against us or for us. It did work against us. At the next election the county returned two members against us, and every election since that time has been against the local Government. We gave three members to the county of Simcoe, which had previously had two, and the three members returned ever since have been members of the Opposition. On the same ground of population, we gave a third member to the county of Grey, which returned three to the Dominion House; and we adopted the Dominion division for the county with one difference. We changed the arrangement with regard to the townships of Holland and St. Vincent, putting the township of Holland into the East Riding; while for Dominion purposes it was in the North Riding. We did this because it was represented to us to be convenient for the people that Holland should belong to the East Riding, and the township of St. Vincent to the North Riding. The member for the North Riding, who was opposed to the Government, told the House that he would rather have the Dominion arrangement, but that it would make no difference politically, and the result has shown that to be the case; when the elections came on, both East Grey and North Grey returned Oppositionists. The districts of Wellington, Simcoe, Grey, and Cardwell lie together, and were represented by eight members. Of those eight members, five were opponents and three were supporters of the Government. Without going

into details, I may state that the new arrangement gave to this new territory three more members, or eleven altogether. At the next election there were returned three Government supporters as before, and eight Oppositionists instead of five, so that the additional members were an addition of that number to the Opposition. (Hear, hear.) I go into these things so that you may see that we felt it our duty in that matter, as in our legislation generally, to adopt that course which should be defensible on sound Reform principles, whether it should happen in the result to be injurious to the Reform party or not. We believed that in giving effect to a sound principle the Reform party would gain in the long run, and we looked not to party gain except as the result of the permanent good of the country. (Cheers.) We have passed other measures affecting elections. We passed Acts introducing

#### **Vote by Ballot.**

first in the elections for the Assembly, and then in elections for Municipal Councils, and upon money by-laws. The introduction of the ballot is another illustration of the observation which I have just made. For I believe the general sentiment was then and is now that the Reform party would be gainers by the vote being an open one. But what is the theory of representation? Is it not that every man should give his vote as he really wishes to give it? Without the ballot you cannot secure that object. (Cheers.) It may be of advantage to the country sometimes that there should be an influence over a voter, but it may also be a disadvantage. And the theory of our Constitution is, that there should be no influence over him which would prevent his giving his vote in whatever way he pleases; that his giving it should be entirely free; that there should be no force, and no undue influence of any kind, to embarrass or deter him; and the only way of accomplishing these objects is by means of the ballot. The ballot is the method of voting in almost every country; it has been long in use in the United States; and it is now the system in England and its principal colonies. I hope that the next election for the Local House will show that if we have lost anything by the ballot heretofore we are not to lose by it any more. (Cheers.)

#### **The Income Franchise.**

We also passed a law for giving votes to persons who had not the property qualification previously required for voters, but who had a certain amount of income. This Act has been found in practice to affect the towns and cities only. The number of income voters in the rural districts is small, but there are a considerable number in cities and towns, and some in villages.

#### **Farmers' Sons Act.**

We passed another Act by which farmers' sons living with their parents, working on their farms, practically their partners, and intended to be the inheritors of the land, may have a vote although they have no separate property. By means of these two acts we have enlarged the electorate of the country.

#### **The Voters' Lists Act.**

There used to be great difficulty at elections in knowing with certainty who were entitled to vote; and much fraud was the result in various ways. Honest men of both parties felt the evil, and were anxious that some remedy should be found for it. We, therefore, prepared a Voters' Lists Act, and provided in it machinery for judicially settling the voters' lists before an election, and for having questions decided beforehand by as impartial a judge in every county as it was possible for us to find, viz., the County Court Judge. That measure received the approbation of

all parties at the time. A more stringent Act was subsequently passed, in consequence of its being found by the proceedings in the Lincoln case that further legislation was necessary to accomplish the end in view. The delay in that case was in spite of our first Voters' Lists Act and might have been more easily accomplished by the litigants if that law had not been in existence. But something more was needed in the same direction.

#### **Finality of the Lists.**

To meet the difficulty we passed an Act making these voters' lists final, and thereby making impossible such scandal as had occurred in the Lincoln case. (Cheers.) We have passed various Acts for

#### **Improving the Machinery of the Courts,**

for preventing unnecessary delay, for removing old anomalies, and for diminishing the danger of cases being disposed of upon matters of form instead of on their merits. We have passed an Act also for the

#### **Payment of Witnesses**

in criminal cases. Until that time witnesses in such cases had to bear their own expenses unless they were too poor to do so. The effect was that the administration of justice was often hindered. Persons avoided giving evidence, because of the expense put upon them for that purpose, and the ends of justice were thus sometimes frustrated. By careful provisions we have been able, while removing this evil, to make the burden of bearing the expense much smaller than had been expected. We have also

#### **Repealed the Stamp Duties**

on proceedings in the Division and County Courts, to the great relief of the suitors in those Courts. We have passed an

#### **Act Respecting the Magistracy,**

removing their liability for acts done by them in good faith, but which turn out not to be strictly in accordance with the law. This relief had had special reference to questions of jurisdiction between the Dominion and the Province.

#### **Revision of Municipal Law.**

In the first session we made provision for facilitating the work of self-government by collecting all the various Acts relating to our municipalities. These Acts were scattered through the statute books of several years; considerable difficulty was consequently experienced by the people, who were not lawyers, and who had to carry out these laws; and it was evident that the simplest law possible on the subject was desirable. My colleague and friend, Mr. Crooks, undertook that work, and during the first session, of my Premiership a new Act was passed consolidating and revising all the old Acts, and producing a result of which, in connection with the Assessment Act, the late Chief Justice Harrison—who probably was more familiar with the subject than any other lawyer or judge—said "that these Acts were the most complete and perfect code of the kind that he knew of in any country of the world." (Cheers.)

#### **Revision of the School Laws.**

In the second session a similar work was performed for the School Laws, which had been in a similar state of chaos. An extensive revision of those laws was then made, so that the Chief Superintendent, Rev. Dr. Ryerson, though he did not approve of some of our amendments, yet publicly stated that he regarded the additions and changes which we had made as on the whole so important and valuable as to constitute a new era in school legislation.

### Appointment of a Minister of Education.

Since then, on the recommendation of Dr. Ryerson and others interested in the work of education, we took the responsibility of having a Minister of Education instead of a Chief Superintendent; and all the proceedings of the Education Department are now subject to be challenged in the House, and there the Minister of Education must defend whatever he does or omits to do in regard to school matters. We selected for Minister a gentleman of ability; of high moral character (cheers); and in every other way fitted to be the head of the educational system of the country. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Crooke is a graduate of the Provincial University, and had taken high honours in his university course. His administration of his Department has received public approbation; it has given satisfaction not to his own party only, but to all parties. (Hear, hear and cheers.) The school law has been further extensively revised under his advice. Training and Model Schools have also been established at a small expense in almost every county. The management of the Provincial University has likewise been popularized by giving to its graduates a voice in its government.

### Laws for the Benefit of the Working Classes.

We have passed laws securing to mechanics, labourers, and others a lien for their pay on the property on which their labour is expended or their materials used, so far as this seemed practicable without prejudice to persons not concerned in the transaction. We have passed laws, in the interest of masters and workmen, for facilitating agreements between them for sharing the profits of the business in which they may be engaged. The object of that law is of great importance to the working classes. It is by such means that their status is to be raised. Those who have given attention to this subject seem to be unaware of any method by which so large an amount of good can be looked for to the great mass of our working population as some method which may enable them somehow to share the profits of the business in which they are employed. (Hear, hear.) In framing these laws we had the advantage of what had been done elsewhere, and we have placed on the statute book the best laws that the example or experience of other places enabled us to devise. We have also passed a law to facilitate, by means of a machinery found useful elsewhere, the amicable settlement of disputes between employers and employed. Perhaps I may mention in this connection that, having in view the well-being of the people, we took an early opportunity to reduce the Provincial tax on marriage licenses—(hear, hear, and laughter)—so that instead of \$6. the only fee now is \$2 to the issuer. To the rich this difference is nothing. To the labouring man, at a time that his expenses are to be increased, the saving of \$4 is an object. We have kept in view the importance of encouraging Mechanics' Institutes everywhere; and while the grant for that purpose in 1871, the year before Mr. Blake became Premier, was \$10,000, so many new Institutes have from time to time since been established all over the country that the legislative grant had risen to \$23,000. (Hear, hear.)

### General Incorporation Acts.

Before Confederation Reformers made it a prominent plank in their platform that general laws should, as far as practicable, be passed to provide for the establishment of corporations, instead of special Acts being from time to time obtained. We have carried out that sound Reform principle, and have passed various Acts for the purpose. The object of these general Acts of Incorporation is not only to prevent the expense and delay incident to obtaining incorporation in the old way through the

Legislature, but is to avoid other difficulties which are independent of these two evils. In connection with these Acts, we adopted the policy of resisting special Acts wherever the parties calling for a special Act might become incorporated, with the powers needed, under a general Act. We passed a new Act for the incorporation of companies by letters patent; a new Act for the incorporation of Benevolent and Provident Societies without letters patent; and an Act for establishing Immigrant Aid Societies. By means of these Acts a large number of companies and societies have since been incorporated, and much expense has thereby been saved to the parties and the Province. I may say a word here with reference to

#### The Orange Bill.

We were of opinion that that influential Association, the Orange body, should obtain its incorporation under the appropriate general Act, as others have done since our Act was passed, instead of insisting on a special Act; and we have therefore resisted a special Act in their case as we have resisted special Acts in other cases, leaving the parties to obtain under the general law the advantages for which a special Act is sought. In order to make political capital, the leaders of the Orange body have refused to take advantage of this course, and have diligently endeavoured to create the false impression that the Orange Societies are suffering some grievance at our hands, while the truth is that the object in view could be served just as well by their becoming incorporated under the general law as in the way their leaders profess to prefer. There is no special Act incorporating these Societies in Great Britain or Ireland; none that I have heard of in the United States; and but one instance (so far as I know), and that a recent one, in any other Province or country.

#### The Marriage Laws.

We have passed Acts amending the marriage laws. There was an increasing number of marriages in the Province which were probably illegal in consequence of irregularities unknown to the parties at the time of marriage. The evil was well known; it had long been before the Courts in some of its aspects. The doubt was not only as to the legal status of the husband and wife, but as to that of their children also. The attention of previous Governments had been called to the subject in vain. We had the good fortune by a few simple provisions to meet the whole difficulty in regard to both the past and the future; and the result of our legislation is, that for the first time in the history of our country, marriages by clergymen of all denominations are now on precisely the same footing. (Cheers.) Then, by various Acts we have provided for the

#### Regulation and Management of our Provincial Institutions.

most of which were formerly carried on in a hap-hazard way, without any legislative direction. We have passed laws regulating the management of the Deaf and Dumb Institution, the Institution for the Blind, and the School of Practical Science, and providing for the inspection of charitable institutions receiving public aid. We have passed an Act also revising and extensively improving the former Acts as to our lunatic asylums.

#### Grants to Charities.

A large sum had annually been granted for many years before Confederation and afterwards to various hospitals and public charities, but the grants were made on no fixed principles, and as the necessary consequence, it was apt to be importunity and influence which regulated what institutions should receive aid and how much they should receive. That was an objectionable state of things, and we applied ourselves to the task of devising a remedy. The public sentiment was against withdrawing the

grants—and I entirely sympathized with that sentiment—from these humane institutions: but we adopted a system by which the amount to be received by each institution should depend on the amount of work done and the amount of contributions received by the institute from other sources. Since the passing of our Act for this purpose all increases of the former grants have been made on the principles laid down in the statute, and favoritism as to amount has thereby been put out of the question. There are a very few of these institutions which were not entitled after the Act to so large a sum as they had previously been receiving; but we have not thought that it would be well to reduce the amounts during a time of depression, and when the poor and afflicted would be the only sufferers. (Hear, hear.)

#### **The Public Health.**

Then we have passed Acts making legislative provision for maintaining the public health when contagious diseases threaten the country; and last session we had a Sanitary Committee, to enquire whether there might not with advantage be further legislation and assistance for the all-important object of promoting the public health at ordinary times as well as in seasons of special danger. (Cheers.) We have given

#### **Repose to Land Titles.**

By materially shortening the period after which a man's title to the property he possesses may be free from danger. It was constantly happening that defects were discovered in a man's title to property of which he had been in possession for many years, and the man and his family were in consequence suddenly deprived of, perhaps, their all. To prevent such hardships Statutes of limitation had been passed from time to time. In England the period had lately been reduced from twenty to twelve years; we reduced it from twenty to ten years; and the result is that every man possessing property holds it now more securely than he did before. An equally short period has been adopted in various other colonies, and in some of the United States. We have passed laws to give greater

#### **Security to Policy-Holders.**

In consequence of the Courts finding that some insurance companies had adopted unjust and unreasonable conditions, and had sometimes taken advantage of these after a fire to raise objections which it was unjust, in the interest of the public, that they should be permitted to make

#### **Settlement of New Districts.**

While most of the matters to which I have referred are matters affecting every part of the country equally, we have given special attention to the outlying and unsettled districts, with the view of increasing the facilities for their settlement and also of rendering them sources of increased revenue. Just before I came into the Government, there was considerable territory which had for the first time been placed under license. Bonuses were obtained amounting to something like half a million of dollars, and the sales added to our annual revenue about \$40,000, besides the timber dues. The transaction took place at a most favourable period, and much higher prices were obtained than could have been got before or since. So satisfactory in that respect was the transaction that one of the Opposition leaders has declared that the Province had got more than it ought from the purchasers, and that in fact it was a fraud to take so much. (Cheers and laughter.) One advantage which we had from the sales was the creation of an interested and unpaid agency which would be helpful in preventing fires in the territory. Large sums of money have been lost to the Province through fires in these districts, and of course it is the interest of all

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licences that these fires should be prevented as far as possible from occurring. We passed a special Act with the same object last session.

In a word, I may say that under every head of legislative jurisdiction which we possess we have been active, wherever there was any law by which the well-being of the country could be advanced, or any defect in the existing laws which could be removed, or any provision that could be made by which the security of our people and the safety of their property might be secured. We have been so active and careful that it has very seldom happened that any plausible objection has been made to what we have done. (Cheers.) Our opponents, as well as our friends are getting from year to year and from day to day the advantage of our work. (Hear, hear.) So much in regard to our legislation. I shall now occupy a little time in talking about

#### **Our Administration of Public Affairs.**

The position of our public affairs, and the prospects in connection with them, are such as to give ground for joy and hope on the part of our whole people, whatever political name they may bear. It requires but a very slight consideration of our position to perceive the accuracy of that statement. I might contrast our position with that of any of the States of the American Union—and I refer to them because they are near us, we are in constant communication with their people, and these States are often referred to as models of economy; but I claim that our system of government is a good deal better than theirs, and that our affairs are conducted with a truer economy. (Cheers) Now every State of the Union has to provide by direct taxation whatever is necessary for carrying on its affairs and for the erection of its public works and buildings. That is the case also to a certain extent in other countries. The

#### **Position of the Provinces of the Dominion**

was from the outset very much in advance of that. At Confederation each of the Provinces started with the ownership of all its ungranted lands, forests, mines, and minerals. These under the American system belong to the General Government. Then, by the British North American Act, we receive annually about \$1,333,569 from the Dominion.

#### **The Revenue.**

which we derive from all sources, and which we have to dispose of from year to year, is somewhere about \$2,500,000. This revenue is far more than sufficient to pay for the cost of the great governmental purposes of legislation, civil government, and the administration of justice. In fact these—which alone are essential functions of Government—do not take up much more than one-fifth of our revenue. What should be done with the balance? What was the best thing to be done with it? It would be the absurddest policy in the world for the population of the present day to reserve permanently the whole of that balance in order to benefit our successors at our expense. (Hear, hear.) The country is getting richer, there will be a larger population in it by and-hye, and the generation to come will be better able than we are to bear whatever expense it may be necessary for that generation to incur. (Applause.) There is another reason why we who are poorer should not be hoarding money in order to give it in the form of money to those who will be richer—a wise employment of our money not only benefits ourselves in the meantime, but benefits our posterity more than if we hoarded the money for them. If we spend money on public works, railways, and like useful objects, not only the population of to-day but the population of ten years hence, and of a longer period than that, will be richer for the wise employment of public money now, and will be benefited more, than if we had hoarded the money

that they might spend it in their day. (Cheers.) That is the view acted upon in all countries in the world.

#### The Surplus.

It is not to be forgotten that a large permanent surplus is an anomaly, an exceptional state of things, and that in all self-governed communities it is felt by all classes of the people and by all parties to be in general a wise thing to expend usefully from year to year the whole revenue. I say to expend usefully, for it would be a bad thing to expend uselessly any part of what we have. But if the whole is usefully expended, and with requisite care, we have the testimony of the world that it is better that the annual revenue should as a rule be employed and not hoarded. (Applause.) The testimony of the nations goes further. Nearly all the countries of the civilized world find it for their interest, not only to expend all their revenue from year to year, but for the sake of adequate public objects to incur debts, and debts often of great magnitude. Take the American States. When they incur these debts the debts have to be paid by direct taxation, yet I do not think there is a State in the Union which has not for the sake of public improvements and other public objects incurred large debts. I am not aware of a single British colony that has not done the same thing (with the exception of Western Australia, which has a population of some 24,785 only, and has no debt). The same observation applies to the various independent communities of South America and elsewhere; and it is our own experience too. Perhaps our people are too much inclined to go into debt through their Municipal Councils, but still, to a certain extent, it is often a wise thing to do. Most of our counties incur debts for public objects; and so do our cities and towns. Many of our townships act upon the same principle. The common sentiment of the people everywhere is, that not only is it prudent to expend the whole of the annual revenue, provided it is spent usefully, but that it is often for the permanent good of the country that money should be borrowed for this purpose. (Cheers.) What is

#### Our Position

In that respect? Immediately after Confederation had been formed, the Legislature of the Province granted sums to various objects—sums as large as had been given to like objects in former years by the Province of Canada. Not only was there from the first abundance of money in the Provincial Treasury to pay for the three essential objects of Government already referred to, and to make other customary grants, but there was also more than enough to build and maintain various new institutions—the Institute for the Blind, the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb, the London Lunatic Asylum, the Central Prison, &c.—and after all this had been done, there was left from year to year a considerable part of the revenue unemployed. There were various reasons for such a state of things. Some of them related to the peculiar character of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald as a public man, as for example his aversion to spending public money; and there were other reasons. Mr. Macdonald never intended to keep the whole of his surplus unemployed, and he stated on various occasions the reasons why he, for a time, delayed disposing of it. His policy is constantly referred to by our opponents as if in this matter it was the opposite of ours; but that was not so. I will show you that he never had the slightest intention of permanently maintaining the surplus which had accumulated from the unemployed revenue of his four years, and that he retained his surplus for temporary reasons only. One of these was this: By the British North America Act the debts of the various Provinces were assumed by the Dominion of Canada. Some of the Provinces were largely in debt, while others owed but little.

The principle of the Act was to treat them all with equal justice. The Province of Canada owed more than its proportion of the debts to be assumed by the Dominion, and the new Provinces of Ontario and Quebec had to repay to the Dominion the difference. The amount which these two Provinces had a right to be relieved from was \$62,500,000. It was doubtful how much beyond this sum the old Province of Canada owed, and the reason that Mr. Sandfield Macdonald gave for not expending the whole revenue from year to year on public objects was, that he did not yet know what the debt of Ontario was, and that it would be unwise to expend all before it was ascertained what amount Ontario would have to make good. There was an arbitration between Ontario and Quebec, and it lasted a considerable time, but by means of its investigations before the award was made it came to be discovered pretty nearly what the amount of the debt was. Ultimately it was found to be about \$10,568,080 over the \$62,500,000. This is the sum stated in a statute passed on the 26th of May, 1873, which was after Mr. Macdonald's time. But from what was known on the subject previously to that date, that gentleman proposed in his last year that \$1,500,000 of his surplus should be expended upon railways. It was contended by my friend who is in the chair (Hon. Mr. McMurrich) and others that provision should at the same time be made out of the surplus to benefit other portions of the country which did not want new railways. How did Mr. Macdonald meet that contention? In the debate which took place on the 7th February, 1871, and which was reported at the time in the newspapers, Mr. Macdonald made these observations:—

For the first time in the history of this country the House had to deal with a surplus which had accumulated in the Treasury of Ontario. \* \* \* \* The position on the whole was an anomalous one, and the task of distributing the surplus was a formidable one.

\* \* The Government had been blamed for not disposing of this surplus before, but they had felt it would be very hazardous to anticipate in advance the ascertainment of the liability which this Province would be exposed to as respected the disputed sum of the public debt as assumed by the Dominion Government.

That was the reason Mr. Macdonald then gave for not disposing of his surplus—because it would be hazardous to deal with it until the amount of the debt was ascertained. He continued—

The Government had ascertained that its proportion of that debt was not so large as to justify the withholding of that portion of the surplus which has to be devoted to the development of the resources of the Province, commercial and agricultural. There being such a surplus on hand, the House would be recreant to its duty if it did not provide means for opening up the country. It had been urged that a portion of the surplus ought to be appropriated to purposes other than those proposed. There were, no doubt, a number of other things which were worthy of consideration. \* \* As to the other questions which hon. members in the interests of their constituencies had brought under the attention of the House, while he admired their zeal, they must not hope that the Government would be in a position this year to deal with these other matters. The feeling of alarm which would be justifiable if it was proposed to devote the whole of the surplus to aiding railways, had no real ground, since it was proposed only to deal with a portion of the surplus, and still leave ample means wherewith to treat these other claimants with full liberality, and meet every contingency. \* \* "I mean to divide all I can this year, but I do not know with sufficient accuracy what our public debt is to apply it all."

His speech shows that while he was to apply a million and a half to railways then, he meant at a future day to dispose of more of the surplus. That was his position and that of his Government. Mr. E. B. Wood was then Treasurer, and he spoke for his Government in the same way. He said:—

They had \$3,500,000 ready cash now lying in the Treasury. \* \* They had in trust funds over \$3,000,000, making \$7,000,000 lying in the Treasury, by means whereof, with the aid of Providence, and by a judicious expenditure, to make this Province—as it ought to be—one of the greatest countries in the Dominion, and a rival to the great Republic lying to the South. \* \* \* The six millions they had now in the Treasury was owing to this Province having got its rights at last; and now they had this surplus, let them expend it so that it would leave behind a monument worthy the first years of this growing and prosperous Province.

We have expended a portion of the surplus with that very view—namely, for the permanent benefit of the Province. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) But the surplus must, in the public interest, be dealt with cautiously and discreetly, and for permanent objects; and we have been acting on that policy.

### Other Uses for the Surplus.

Having a balance of the former surplus, and having an annual surplus besides, what have we been doing with them? Besides the large sums granted to railways and Municipalities, we have, with the sanction of the Legislature and the approval of the country, been using the money in part for building and enlarging our public institutions, giving increased accommodation for the deaf, the dumb, the blind, the insane, etc. These objects commend themselves to the humanity of our people. The existing institutions were not capable of receiving all who needed to have entrance to them; and, having the money, we made provision for as many as possible of these afflicted classes to receive the benefits which the institutions were intended to afford. We gave more also than had previously been given for the construction of colonization roads in the territory from which much of our revenue is derived; as well as more to hospitals and charities; to mechanics' institutes, etc. We need not have done all this, but we considered that it was a better application of the money than if we had left it in the banks or bought Dom<sup>i</sup> look with it; and no part of the public withheld their approval of the way. (Cheers.) Notwithstanding all expenditures out of the annual revenue in our time, there was an unexpended surplus every year up to 1877 inclusive:—

In 1872 .....	\$1,212,791
" 1873 .....	502,103
" 1874 .....	804,283
" 1875 .....	441,268
" 1876 .....	225,703
" 1877 .....	88,271

Two or three items or heads of expenditure are specially laid hold of by the enemy as affording reasons why the public should withdraw their confidence from the Reform party and Government. Such items are civil government and the administration of justice. I may say with regard to these that they must increase as population and wealth increase. It is so in all parts of the world, and under every kind of Government, and it is a deceptive pretence to say that such increases are a proof of want of good government or want of economy. The Provincial Treasurer of Ontario speaking for his Government in 1868 declared with truth, "Our expenses will increase every year, do what we may to prevent them." (Hear, hear.)

### Double the Work at Increase of half the Cost.

I wish, however, to say, with regard to civil government, that the work done by the various departments of it greatly exceeds the increase of expense, and that, instead of extravagance, the facts show that, having reference to the amount of work done, we have been more economical than our predecessors. (Cheers.) If we do twice the work, while the expenditure has increased one-half only, can there be better proof of our economy? (Hear, hear, and cheers.) In my Woodstock speech the other day I illustrated the increase of business by giving facts relating to the Provincial Secretary's office and my own. On this occasion I will give you an illustration from the

### Crown Lands Department.

In discussing this subject our opponents sometimes point to the adoption of a system of free grants, and to the consequent decrease in the sums received from the sale of Crown lands; and that fact is suggested

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as a reason why the Department should cost less instead of more than formerly ; but free grants involve a larger amount of labour to the Department than sales do. I will give you a few figures to show how great the increase in this branch of the Department has been. In 1871, Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's last year, the number of persons located on free grants was 1,113; in 1877 the number was 1,914, nearly twice as many. The number of acres located in 1871 was 153,105 ; in 1877, 260,801. (Hear, hear.) The work in the other branches of the Crown Lands Department has likewise been increasing. Take, for instance, the Woods and Forest Branch. The number of saw-log returns received and checked in 1871 was 1,750 ; and in 1877, 2,627, an increase of nearly 50 per cent. The number of square timber returns received and checked in 1871 was 269 ; in 1877, 327. In the Survey Branch, the number of field notes copied in 1871 was 662 ; and in 1877, 2,926. Then there is much departmental work connected with colonization roads, for the more roads built and repaired the more is the business of the Department increased. The expenditure upon colonization roads amounted in the aggregate to \$188,317 up to 1871, as compared with \$583,681 during the period from 1872 to 1877, or an annual expenditure of \$55,409 in 1871 as compared with an annual expenditure of nearly half as much more in 1877, viz., 81,726. There were 40 miles of new road built and 120 miles repaired in 1871, and 110 miles of new road built and 194 miles repaired in 1877. The number of works executed under this Department was 31 in 1871, against 58 in 1877. The number of vouchers for payment was 930 in 1871, against 1,740 in 1877. The number of letters received—always a good test of the amount of business—as incident to this work, was 588 in 1871, against 1,400 in 1877; the number of letters answered was 364 in 1871, against 680 in 1877. I might give you various other figures illustrating the same thing, but what I have said will suffice to show you the increase in the work.

Legislation is another head of expenditure which has been increasing, and in the Opposition newspapers reference is constantly made to the

#### Increase in the Allowance of Members,

which is one chief cause of that increase. Apart from the propriety of that increase—which I will not discuss to-night—anything more unreasonable than the conduct of our opponents in endeavouring to make for their party political capital out of the fact, I can hardly imagine. (Hear, hear.) You have had the matter under discussion at one of the meetings of this club, and I would like to have been present to hear what was said. I speak of the conduct of the Opposition outside the House as most unreasonable, because the increase arose from a demand made by the whole House, including the Opposition members, leaders as well as followers. (Hear, hear.) The general idea at the time was that the public would approve of the increase. The country had approved of giving \$1,000 to the members of the House of Commons, while the increased sum for the members of the Assembly was only \$800. There is little or no more time taken up by the deliberations of the House of Commons than by ours, nor is the time of its members more valuable to themselves, nor are their expenses as members greater. But if members of the Ontario Assembly were wrong in supposing that the people would approve of an indemnity to them of \$800, there is no more capital to be made of the error against one side than against the other.

#### Mr. Cameron's Opinion.

I will read to you some observations that were made by Mr. Cameron, leader of the Opposition, after that matter had been forced upon the Government by the almost unanimous opinion of the House. A Government

must respect a representation made by the whole House. Mr. Cameron said, in regard to Ministers' salaries and members' indemnity:—

In consequence of certain statements in the press, he considered it his duty to state that he himself had suggested the increase of Ministers' salaries. He believed that the members of the Government were not sufficiently paid.

I may observe here that the Ministers' salaries were increased at the instance of the whole House; and had been urged upon us repeatedly before we acted on the suggestion. It was well known that the expenses attending the office of Minister were very large, and a strong opinion was expressed on both sides of the House that the increase should be made. Mr. Cameron continued:—

With reference to the indemnity to members, \$800 was, in his judgment, not more than adequate to compensate them for their labour and attendance, and in many cases it was too little. \* \* \* \* In every other respect, he did not consider \$800 too much. Therefore he wished to assume any responsibility that attached to the Government with reference to the matter.

The other leaders of the Opposition, including Mr. Meredith, Mr. Scott, Mr. Creighton, Dr. Bouler, and Mr. Macdougall spoke to the same effect; and Mr. Lauder concurred in the observations of his colleagues. Our own friends spoke in the same way.

I am not giving you these extracts as of themselves showing that the increases were right (for that point I do not now discuss), but to point out the absurdity and injustice of those who, in face of the facts, endeavour to make a point against one side for the political benefit of the other side. The increases would never have taken place unless both parties had desired it and approved of it.

#### Maintenance of Public Institutions.

Reference is sometimes made to the increased expense in maintaining our public institutions. One sufficient reason of that increase is that we

have more institutions to maintain; that those previously in existence have been enlarged; and that our institutions contain a greater number of inmates than before. I will give you a few figures showing such to be the case. These figures our opponents say nothing about. The number of inmates in the asylums for the insane in 1871 was 1,366, and in 1877 it was 2,027. In the institution for the blind in 1871 the number of inmates was 11, and in 1877 it was 130. The number of inmates in the Deaf and Dumb Institute in 1871 was 124, and in 1877 it was 238. The number of prisoners in the Provincial Reformatory in 1871 was 155, and in 1877 it was 203. The Central Prison, a new institution altogether, relieving largely the gaols and lightening expense to counties, contained at the date in 1877 up to which the last report was made 343 inmates. Our opponents are fond of pointing to the mere fact of these increases, as if that alone constituted extravagance. But expenses of this kind necessarily advance no matter what economy is practised.

#### Comparison with other Countries.

With respect to the general subject of the cost of legislation, I may observe that the direct cost is less in some of the States of the American Union than in Ontario, though in others it is more. In Massachusetts, with a population of 1,457,357, the cost of legislation in 1871 was \$326,762; ours, with a much larger population, was \$122,301. In New York the expense of legislation in 1875 was \$603,060. I give the figures for these years because I have no others at hand. But the indirect expenses of legislation in most of the American States appear, by the testimony of their own writers, to be enormous, and from causes from which, happily, we have hitherto been nearly free.

To illustrate the subject further, I will take, for the benefit of our

opponents, the case of communities in which the Government was of their own political stripe. In the Province of Quebec the cost of legislation in 1871—I take 1871 because that is the year with which our opponents are fond of comparing our present expenditure—was \$128,921, and in 1877-8 it was \$156,969. The cost of Civil Government in 1871-2 was \$128,673, and in 1877-8 it was \$165,273. The Administration of Justice in 1871 cost \$271,212, and in 1878-9, \$409,790.

Take, again, the Province of Canada during the time that it was under Conservative Government, and we find the same thing. I have some figures which I have taken from documents which were published in 1862, and which I believe to be correct. Legislation cost in 1853—the year before Sir John Macdonald came into power—\$264,949, and it ran up to \$482,048 in 1862, when Mr. Sandfield Macdonald became Premier. The Provincial Penitentiary cost the Province \$28,000 in 1853, and it ran up to \$155,612 in 1862. The Governmental Departments cost \$144,415 in 1853, and went up to \$486,620 in 1862. The collection of revenue from Customs and so on cost in 1853 \$366,345, and it ran up to \$832,391 in 1862. In 1853 the aggregate expenditure for ordinary purposes was about \$4,000,000, including capital expenditure, and it ran up in 1862 to \$10,218,863. Perhaps some of those increases by Sir John's Government were too large; perhaps they partly arose from extravagance; but no doubt some increase was unavoidable, and our opponents have always asserted that no part of it was extravagant. So much for these particular items of expenditure. Let us look for a moment at the aggregate expenditure of the same period. When Sir Francis Hincks left office in 1853, he left a surplus of \$5,188,136, which had accrued from the ordinary revenue of the Province after paying all ordinary expenses. When Sir John came into power that was changed. There was thenceforward an annual deficit, which in 1862 Mr. Galt estimated at \$5,000,000, and there were besides large increases to the taxation. But the expenditure in 1862 exceeded even the increased revenue by \$9,311,000, which had to be made up by borrowed money. Our expenditure in Ontario is simply drawing upon the revenue of the year, and to a certain extent upon the surplus revenues of former years. Again, the Provincial debt under Conservative management rose in six years from \$29,922,748 to upwards of \$70,000,000. I am not at present disputing the propriety of any part of that expenditure; I am only calling your attention to the fact that under Conservative Governments there was also an increase, and I hope that it can be accounted for as satisfactorily as the increase in Ontario in our time. (Cheers.)

I have here details which show that the experience was the same during the period from 1862 to 1868, and again from 1868 to 1874. There was constantly an increase in the aggregate, and an increase in the various items which I have mentioned. The aggregate figures from 1862 up to Confederation appear to be these—

For year ending 31st December, 1862.....	\$ 9,441,497
Do., 1863.....	9,472,854
Next six months.....	4,423,281
For year ending 30th June, 1865.....	9,903,957
Do., 1866.....	10,884,813
Do., 1867.....	11,321,950
Being an increase in five years of.....	1,940,408

Again, take Canada under Sir John,

In 1867-68 his aggregate expenditure was.....	\$13,496,092
1868-69.....	14,038,084
1869-70.....	14,345,509
1870-71.....	15,023,061
1871-72.....	17,589,468
1872-73.....	19,174,647
1873-74.....	23,810,316

The increase between the first year of Confederation and the last for which Sir John took a vote was \$9,830,224. I believe that the responsibility of Sir John's Government for 1873-4 is now universally conceded though it was for a time disputed. But whether or no, Mr. Tilley's estimates in the session of 1873 and the statutory increases of expenditure show provision made for an aggregate expenditure against revenue of \$23,685,000, or \$370,000 more than was actually expended. The table which I have read to you excludes sums expended on what is called capital account. Adding these, and we have an aggregate of \$14,076,243 for 1867-8, and an aggregate of \$19,768,847 for 1872-3, the last full year of Sir John's administration.

Look at some of those items at the same date in Canada which correspond with the items as to which the Ontario increases are absurdly and falsely denounced as unnecessary and wanton :—

	1867-8.	1871.	1873-4.
Civil Government .....	\$594,411	\$642,300	\$888,685
Administrat'n of Justice.....	291,242	314,411	469,037
Immigration and Quarantine.....	60,396	71,790	818,572

Take a few more items of a special character for the first and last of these years :—

	1867-8.	1873-4.
Customs .....	\$475,503	\$658,299
Excise .....	78,939	206,935
Culling Timber .....	60,430	82,886
Post-office .....	616,802	1,387,270

I presume I have now given you as many figures as you will be able to retain in your recollection. (Laughter.) And perhaps I should avail myself of this opportunity to say something about

#### A Certain Pamphlet

which was distributed in very large numbers in this city during the late election, to help Mr. Morris. (Hear, hear.) The pamphlet bears the name of a certain High Tory Senator, who, when it suits his purpose, claims to be a no-party man. The pamphlet professes to be written in no party interest. But it is rather extraordinary in that case that the pamphlet should come out just before the late election, in which Mr. Leys ought to have been the successful candidate, and very nearly was the successful candidate. (Cheers.) I hope that at the next election he will be the successful candidate. (Cheers.) In truth, the Senator is one of the most pronounced party men in all Canada. (Hear, hear.) With all his professions, I do not know a man who is more blinded by party feeling than he is to the merits and measures of his opponents. (Hear, hear.) In this pamphlet he grandly declares that he has an "appalling revelation" to make in regard to our local affairs, that he has discovered something which will "astound the people to learn," and that he regrets that the duty of making it known to the people has devolved upon him. (Laughter.) I wonder what my late opponent, Mr. Cameron—who has now reached the Bench, which I have no doubt that he will adorn—I wonder what he thinks of this charge against him of ignorance and incapacity, or unfaithfulness. (Hear, hear.) According to the venerable Senator, there was a great wrong being done before Mr. Cameron's very eyes, and it appears that, poor fellow, he was unable to see it ; it was reserved for a very

#### Amateur in Provincial Politics

to perceive the wrong and to reveal it. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) I wonder what Mr. Macdougall thinks—who has left the Provincial Assembly for a higher sphere—I wonder what he thinks of the slap in the face which the Senator administers to him ? Mr. Macdougall has hitherto believed himself able to perceive what was going on and to explain and

denounce what deserved condemnation; but money was being publicly wasted by a Government which he was elected to oppose, and it seems that he never knew of the waste or told it to the country. He left the appalling fact to be "revealed" by the former representative of Saugeen. And I wonder what Mr. Meredith, who is expected to be the new leader of the Opposition, or Mr. Scott, or the other lights on that side of the House, will say to the charge of blindness and stupidity which is brought against them. But what is the "appalling" discovery made by Mr. Macpherson? Why, that the surplus now, after all the expenditure out of it, is not what it was in 1871. (Laughter.) I do not know who but the Senator supposes that that assertion is new. I do not know what intelligent politician in all Ontario has not long been aware of all the facts in reference to the surplus. The Senator had no other means of learning the facts than the public had been long in possession of. The Public Accounts were published every year; the members received copies; the newspapers received copies; the accounts were from year to year discussed in the House and in the country; the very subject of the surplus and the effect of our legislation on it were an issue at our last general election, and have been a matter of fierce debate during every session, and of invective in nearly every Opposition newspaper, from the year 1873 to the present time. (Hear, hear.) The Public Accounts have from time to time given tables of comparison much more full and minute than the tables which the Senator has compiled or got compiled from them, in a form that (he thinks) may serve his party for electioneering purposes. The Public Accounts for 1871 gave such a table of comparison for the years 1868 to 1871. The Accounts for 1872 gave a like table of comparison between the expenditure of 1871 and 1872. The Public Accounts of 1873 gave a similar table of comparison between the expenditure of 1872 and 1873. In 1874 Mr. McKellar got tables prepared and printed unofficially, and distributed, showing the comparison for all the years from 1868 to 1873, and giving also the railway expenditure and surplus distribution. The Public Accounts for 1874, 1875, and 1876 had tables of comparison similar to those of 1872 and 1873. These tables of comparison were of the annual expenditure in respect of the annual appropriations. The expenditure on railways and for surplus distribution was not included in these tables because they were not annual votes; but they were known to everybody; the particulars appeared in other places in the Accounts; and there had been no expenditure in the early years with which to compare the sums paid under these two heads in the subsequent years. In a table laid before the House by the Provincial Treasurer in connection with his last budget speech, and afterwards published in an appendix to his speech, there was given a comparative statement from the year 1867 to the year 1877, inclusive, of most of the items of expenditure, and of the annual average for the two periods, viz., Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's administration and the subsequent period to 1877. This table included the administration of justice, colonization roads, asylums and public institutions, municipalities, hospitals and charities, agriculture and literary and scientific institutions, education, public buildings and works, railways, and surplus distribution. (Hear, hear.) Another statement printed with the same speech gave the assets, including the surplus, and unpaid appropriations, and liabilities. Similar information had been given from time to time in previous years. Yet Mr. Macpherson fancies that he is the first to have discovered the true state of affairs. (Laughter.) He thinks, innocent gentleman, that the people had never before been told that the surplus of 1871 was not all in hand still, and he suggests that the people have been under a delusion as to the financial

affairs of the country. Sir, the people have been under no delusion. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) It is Senator Macpherson who is under a delusion. (Renewed cheers.) He has discovered a mare's nest. He has been fancying that to be a novelty to every one which was a novelty to no one but himself. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) After having read the pamphlet, I should not be surprised if I should sometime soon read in the proceedings of some grave and learned body, that Senator Macpherson had read a paper to announce as a startling discovery of his that the sun rose in the east and set in the west. (Loud laughter.) The Senator in a published letter speaks of my colleagues and myself as being "political pygmies." I am afraid there is somebody else who belongs to that category. But what a poor set of men, according to this great Senator, there must be in public life here. Ontario must be in a very bad way. Its Local Ministers are mere political pygmies, but they are great wrong-doers; and the Opposition leaders are such Lilliputian pygmies, (laughter) that, while all the corruption and extravagance, which this amateur in Provincial politics has discovered, have been going on under their eyes they have not known it. (Hear, hear.) But the charge is a mere piece of presumption and vanity on the part of the Senator. The Opposition leaders are not chargeable with any such ignorance or incapacity as his pamphlet implies and assumes, and as made him fancy that a necessity existed for obtaining a new Opposition leader in the person of the new member for East Toronto. I hope that none of the Opposition leaders may soon get into office; I hope that the country will not have the misfortune for many years to be governed by any of them, or by politicians of their stripe. (Cheers.) But I must say of them all that they are wiser men and better informed men than Mr. Macpherson is. He is a tyro in Provincial politics, while they are veterans. The reason that they have not succeeded in making the people believe that they have been badly governed is that the people know the facts.

The Senator pays a good deal of attention to me in his pamphlet, and he invites me to discuss his charges on the floor of the House. Well, I do not think that the pamphlet is worth discussing there, and I do not purpose accepting the invitation which he gives me in that respect. (Hear, hear.) In this pamphlet of his he talks a good deal about partyism and its undesirableness. Amongst other things, referring to the period of Confederation, he says that

**Partyism, Wicked, Selfish Partyism**

(laughter) "had done much to mar the happiness of Canada, and that the good men of all parties hoped that its discordant voice had been hushed." There was a goodly number of men sent to our Local Assembly in 1867 who had no confidence in the Government which had been formed, and who therefore, in accordance with the opinions and wishes of their constituents, did not hold it to be desirable that the old party lines should be destroyed—who believed that, in our system of Government, opposition was a necessary and valuable feature, and that the old historic parties afforded a basis for that opposition which should not be disregarded. (Hear, hear.)

**The Truly "Good" Men.**

But these constituencies and their members were not "good" men. (Laughter.) They were not "good" men, like Sir John—(renewed laughter)—or the Senator himself. (Hear, hear and laughter.) True my friend Mr. McMurrich, who is presiding here to-night, was one of those members, and if he were not present I would say that people generally regarded him as one of our very best men. (Cheers.) But he does not belong to the class of "good" men, such as Sir John and Mr. Macpherson. (Laughter.)

Mr. Blake was also a party man, he was leader of the Opposition in the first Assembly, and his character is a spotless one—(loud cheers)—there is not the slightest stain upon it. But he is not a "good" man, as Sir John and Mr. Macpherson are. Mr. Mackenzie also was a member of the Opposition in the Local Assembly, and is a man against whose honesty and integrity no one but his political adversaries has ever uttered a word. (Loud cheers). But he is not one of the "good" men, like Sir John or Mr. Macpherson. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) All those who sent Mr. McMurrich, Mr. Blake, and Mr. Mackenzie to the legislative Assembly—and all the members of that body who voted with them there, and all their constituents likewise—must have been bad men too. (Renewed laughter.) I venture to say that the testimony of the future will be the reverse of all this. (Loud cheers).

Mr. Macpherson, though a no-party man, eulogises the Conservative party leader, Sir John; and what for? Because Sir John did all could he to prevent a division of the people into parties after Confederation. And why? That all parties might support him. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) I do not see much patriotism in that, though the Senator does. I do not know what party leader would not willingly dispense with parties on the same terms. (Hear, hear, and cheers.)

A little farther on the Senator gives a so-called history of the proceedings which led to the fall of the first Local Government and to Mr. Blake's accession to office, and he ascribes the change to "the absence of a number of members who had gone to their constituents for re-election." (Laughter.) If he had looked at the Journals he would have found that Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's Government did not resign until there had been a vote against them of 44 to 25—nearly two to one. The House consisted of 82 members, so that a majority of the whole House had voted against the Government—(hear, hear)—and during the subsequent proceedings of the session, after the gentlemen who had gone to their constituents had returned to the House, all the measures of Mr. Blake's Government were supported by immense majorities. (Hear, hear.)

#### Who Governs the Government.

Mr. Macpherson is very fond of stating that Mr. Brown is the head of the Provincial Government, and was the head of Mr. Mackenzie's Government. (Laughter.) Now Mr. Brown has many admirers, and if he was the head of either Government, or believed to be, it would perhaps add to its strength. But I may take this opportunity of mentioning one or two things bearing on Mr. Brown's occupying or desiring to occupy such a position. During the time that I have been Premier Mr. Brown has never once even asked me for an appointment for anybody. (Cheers.) He has never even intimated to me an opinion, so far as I recollect, as to any appointment. (Hear, hear.) Further, I do not recollect any matter of Provincial policy with regard to which he has even spoken to me before our policy had been decided upon and publicly announced, with the exception perhaps of his favourite subject of agriculture—I have had several conversations with him on that subject. (Cheers.) Of the vast number of other subjects with which we have been occupied, I don't think there was one in regard to which he has ever endeavoured in conversation or by letter to press any particular view upon me. (Hear, hear.) But he has given to the Government a generous support in his paper, as all the Reform press have done. (Loud cheers.) The *Globe* has supported us for the same reasons that other Reform journals have; and apart from his paper, Mr. Brown has supported us for the same reasons that other leaders of the party have done so. (Cheers.) Now, it is one of the blessings of a Reform party that Reformers are independent thinkers—

(hear, hear)—and it is one of our difficulties and weaknesses as a party that we are apt to speak out our differences when they exist. In that respect we differ from our opponents—(hear, hear)—who make little of their differences or conceal them. My colleagues and myself have not always been fortunate enough to have our views concurred in by Mr. Brown. He has had his independent views and we have had ours. When our views differ, we take our course, and he takes his. (Cheers.) But we don't quarrel if we do not on every subject think just alike. We passed a Farmers' Sons' Franchise Act; THE GLOBE opposed that measure with its accustomed vigour and ability. Our school legislation had the opposition of THE GLOBE in several respects, while it had the support of THE GLOBE in other respects; and I might enumerate various matters in which we have not adopted his views nor persuaded him to adopt ours. I do not know whether you think that when we differed he was right or we were right; but it is not inconsistent with holding a high opinion of Mr. Brown, or with feeling gratitude for his past public services, that one should not think that everything expressed in THE GLOBE by Mr. Brown and his writers for the last 30 years and more has been correct or to be approved. It would be strange indeed if, during that long period, many things had not been said, and argued for or contended against, which some or other of his fellow Reformers did not at the time agree with, or do not now agree with; but there is no room for doubt that all the great reforms which had been accomplished in this country for twenty-five years or so before Confederation were hastened by his able and vigorous advocacy. There is not one of those reforms that we would have got so soon but for the powerful support of Mr. Brown and THE GLOBE. The last great reform which was accomplished—the putting an end to French Tory domination in the local affairs of Ontario, and the principle of representation by population in matters of common interest—we would not have got for years to come but for his persevering, zealous, and self-denying exertions. (Cheers.) In view of these services Mr. Brown is entitled to the gratitude of all the people of this country, and even of those who do not hold, who are far from holding, in all respects the same political views as he does. But to say or insinuate that he directs the Ontario Government, or shapes its policy, or is its head, is to ascribe to him a responsibility which is unjust to him and for which there is not the slightest foundation in the facts. I have no reason to doubt that the case was the same in regard to the Reform Government at Ottawa: though of course I cannot speak as to it from personal knowledge.

#### Mr. Macpherson and the N.P.

I had always thought that the reason the late Dominion Government was unsuccessful at the elections was because of the National Policy. It is to that cause that our friend in the chair, in his opening speech, ascribed the success of Sir John Macdonald and his party at the late elections, but Mr. Macpherson wrote a book during those elections (laughter), and he does not appear to at all agree that it was the National Policy to which Mr. Mackenzie's defeat was owing. It was "because the public would not be any longer imposed upon by the professions of spurious Reformers"; for you see his book had made these known. (Laughter.) The Senator is very angry because during those elections I attended a meeting in the county of Glengarry where Dominion subjects were discussed. He says:—"A railway is being built through that part of the country to Ottawa, and is perhaps dependent for its completion upon receiving further aid from the Province of Ontario. Will Mr. Mowat say that he did not listen to representations or applications from the promoters of the railway for additional Provincial aid?" I suppose that Conservatives who read the

pamphlet may think the fact to be as is insinuated in that question. But the truth is, that not a single word was said to me about railway aid during all the time I was in Glengarry, nor did I say a word about it to anybody. (Cheers.) I did not know then, and do not know now, that the friends of the railway were or are looking for an increase of the railway bonus already voted. (Cheers.) And it never occurred to me, in connection with that visit or otherwise, to give an impression to anybody that the chance of receiving further railway aid from the Government would be greater if the county elected one man rather than another, and the subject was not even spoken of. We go on no such principle in our railway grants as this pamphleteer suggests. (Cheers.) In every instance the grant made to a railway had been as much desired and as earnestly asked by Conservatives as by Reformers. There is not one railway that we have aided which has not had among its promoters both Conservatives and Reformers. What we look at is whether or not the railway is one to which it is for the public interest to grant aid, and we act accordingly. (Cheers.) The Senator has a good deal to say about the

#### Administration of Justice.

Amongst other things, he states that the Reform Governments at Ottawa and Toronto have "created two Courts of Appeal—the Court of Error and Appeal for Ontario, and the Supreme Court at Ottawa." What will you think of such a statement when I tell you that the Court of Appeal was established as long ago as 1791?—(laughter)—and that the Act establishing it provided for nearly the same classes of appeals from the Court of King's Bench as now? The Court of Chancery was established in 1837, and it was then provided, 30 years ago, that there should be appeals from that Court to the same Court of Appeal. Some years later (1849) the Court of Common Pleas was established, and an appeal was at the same time provided for from that Court to the Court of Appeal, which then received the name of the Court of Error and Appeal, and retained it till the old name was restored in my time. Thus, part of the jurisdiction of the Court of Appeal which we are said to have created had its origin over eighty years ago, part of it forty years ago, and part of it more than a quarter of a century ago. (Hear, hear.) The Senator expresses the valuable opinion that the law allows too many rehearings or appeals, and he insinuates, if he does not positively assert, that we were the parties who had made the law to which he thus objects. You will hardly be of that opinion when I tell you that since 1851 no important classes of appeals have been sanctioned by the Legislature except those which Sir John added—I do not say wrongly added—by a law passed in his time. So that the whole matter of appeals in ordinary cases has been in existence substantially as it now is for many years before either of the assailed Governments was in power, and some parts of the system are owing to his friend Sir John and his Government; and nobody but the Senator in his pamphlet has hitherto condemned them. The Senator condemns the Reform party also for the appeals allowed to the Supreme Court, forgetting in his partisanship that the Act establishing the Supreme Court corresponded in that respect with the Bills previously brought in by his own friends, and that the Act of the late Government not only did not go farther than was done by the Bills of Sir John, but cut off one expensive appeal which the Senator's friends wished to retain, namely, an appeal from the Supreme Court to the Privy Council in England.

In 1874 it had become necessary to increase the

#### Number of Judges.

There had been no increase in the number of Superior Judges for twenty-five years. During that period there had been a large increase in the

population of the Province, and in its wealth and its transactions, and the consequence was that the business of the Courts had so increased that the judges were unable to overtake their work. Hence the business was failing into arrear. The judges were laborious and able men; but there was a limit to their powers, and sometimes suitors were in attendance at Court after Court before they could get their cases tried or disposed of. The delay and expense occasioned by this state of things were great evils, and acknowledged by all to be so. Justice is not justice unless it is reasonably speedy. (Hear, hear.) We proposed, therefore, the addition of a certain number of judges, and our proposal was approved of by the Opposition leaders as well as by our own friends. Our opponents fully admitted that the measure was one which the public interests imperatively required. We called the new judges "judges of appeal," and made the hearing of appeals their special duty, though the other duties assigned to them were greater than their appeal duties. Mr. Meredith, in his speech on our Bill, declared that the arrangement we proposed of making these judges appeal judges was probably the best arrangement that could be made. I do not know that I need remark further on what the Senator says when the members of his own political stripe who were acquainted with the subject, which he is not, have expressed strong opinions in favour of the very measure which he ignorantly condemns. (Hear, hear.)

#### Tavern Licenses.

The Senator says that we have "diverted into the Provincial Exchequer a portion of the revenue derived from tavern licenses," and that thereby I "may be said to have inaugurated direct taxation for Provincial purposes;" while the fact is, there has been a tax on tavern licenses for Provincial purposes for more than eighty years, and it was inaugurated in the first Parliament of Upper Canada, instead of being inaugurated by me. I had noted, for the purpose of remarking upon, a number of other statements in the pamphlet, but I have occupied so much time already that I cannot continue much longer. (Cries of "Go on.")

#### Mr. Macpherson's Charges.

The pamphlet is chiefly directed against me and against my colleagues. Mr. Macpherson entitles his pamphlet, "A trenchant exposure"—very modest, is he not?—"of extravagance, incapacity, and corruption." He says, I "know what is right," but "can be persuaded to do what is wrong." (Laughter.) He pretends to think that I "yield readily to unscrupulous men." He charges me, in common with my colleagues, with "making the wildest misstatements," with "misrepresentation and abuse," with "unscrupulous efforts," with "flagrant wrong-doing," with "defending acts" which we "must have known to be scandalous." He accuses us with "sacrificing consistency, dignity, and duty." He says we are a "narrow-minded and selfish clique," and "incapable and reckless." He speaks of our accounts for what are called contingencies as the "corruption fund of unscrupulous Ministers." I have not at hand two letters which he published in the *Mail*, and which, I believe, contained more in the same strain. Yet he does not seem to think that any of this language is abuse. (Hear, bear.) And he implores me not to abuse him. (Laughter) His pamphlet may deceive the unwary, but to anybody that studies it, it is enough to condemn him without any abuse on my part, or by any one else. As to the things which he says of me, I do not dispute with the Senator their applicability to one of us. I leave those who know me and my public conduct to judge whether they apply to me, and I am content to leave his pamphlet, or the pamphlet which he claims as his, to tell whether or not they apply to him. (Hear, hear.) The Senator condescends, in the midst of all his abuse of me, to introduce a sentence to the effect that he

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believes I am "personally upright." For my part, I do not see how a man can be as bad as he says that I am, and yet be personally upright. But he and I evidently belong to different schools of ethics, as well as to different schools of politics. (Cheers.) While this gentleman expresses so bad an opinion of me, he thinks a great deal of himself. He claims to be "influenced solely by a desire to promote the public welfare and to purify Canadian public life." I am afraid that if the public welfare and the purity of Canadian life depend at all on him and his pamphlet, they stand a very poor chance of promotion. (Hear, hear.) He pronounces partyism to be "selfish and wicked," and speaks of it as "prejudiced and pestilent," and as "inexorable and dwarfing." These are strong words. There may be a partyism without any of these things. There may be a pure and patriotic partyism; but the Senator's partyism deserves all the opprobrious epithets which he uses. (Hear, hear.) And here, for want of time and strength, I must leave him.

Much as this Tory Senator abuses the Reform party as represented in the Ontario Government and Legislature, and bitter as henceforward until the elections the contest will be between his friends and the Liberals of the Province, I am glad to know that our legislation and our administration of public affairs have been beneficial to the whole people, and to our bitterest opponents as well as to our best friends. I hope that we may be in a position to do good to our political enemies (in spite of themselves), as well as to the rest of the country, for another term of four years; and I do not doubt that the Reform Literary and Debating Club of Toronto will render good service in bringing about that desirable result.

The hon. gentlemen, on resuming his seat, was heartily cheered.

**NOTE**—Mr. Macpherson has issued a new and revised edition of the Pamphlet, with a long appendix, dated 14th of January, 1879, and a different title page; and it is said that a large edition is being printed at the Senator's expense, for distribution in every part of the Province, under the hope on his part of thereby influencing the coming elections and obtaining some fame for himself.

Mr. Mowat, in his speech before the Toronto Reform Club, gave some specimens of the Senator's misleading statements; and the facts mentioned in his Woodstock speech, as well as in other portions of his speech at Toronto, afford incidentally an answer to other statements in the pamphlet, and to the false inferences of extravagance which the schedules were prepared to lead the unwary to make. Expenditure is not necessarily extravagance; nor does increased expenditure necessarily imply extravagance; on the contrary, increased expenditure may be economical, as well as prudent and wise. Mr. Mowat has pointed out, that for the essential purposes of a government, the expenditure under the heads of Civil Government, Legislation and Administration of Justice is the only expenditure necessary; and that it does not in this Province amount to much more than one-fourth of the Annual Revenue; that the balance of our revenue may either be kept unemployed, or be employed in some useful and beneficial manner in the public interest; that the cost of Civil Government and Administration of Justice always and everywhere increases unavoidably with the progress of a country; and that the aggregate cost of Civil Government in Ontario, including all increases of salaries and all contingencies, is far less proportionably than the increase of business done since Mr. Sandfield McDonald's time. Again, the chief item of increase under the head of Legislation is for the increased indemnity of members, and the Senator speaks as if it was incurred against the opposition of his own party, and was therefore a ground for preferring his to the liberal party; while the fact is, as the Senator knows well, that his friends and

leaders were active parties in bringing about the increase, and in inducing the government to assent to it, and that the same leaders and their supporters have always defended the increase as just and reasonable, whether it may or may not be deemed expedient to continue it.

Apart from the three heads of expenditure which have just been mentioned, and which do not amount to much more than one-fourth of either the revenue or the aggregate expenditure, Mr. Mowat has pointed out that the other expenditures of a country may be much or little, according to the means of the country and the wishes of its people; that in the case of Ontario,—the revenue having been from the first more than was necessary both to defray the essential expenses of government, and to enable the Legislature to make the various other grants which had been customary before Confederation for objects, now within the jurisdiction of the Ontario Legislature,—Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's Government determined to build a new Government House at Toronto, a new Lunatic Asylum at London, an Institute for the blind at Brantford, an Institute for the deaf and dumb at Belleville, and a Central Prison at Toronto; and the same government decided in its last year to appropriate a million and a half dollars of the surplus of previous years for the encouragement of railways.

The works so determined upon by that government were partly executed in their time, and what was not completed before the change of government has been completed since; but the objects mentioned did not employ the whole remaining revenue or accumulations of revenue, and the Reform Party are responsible for employing further portions of accumulated and accruing revenue for other objects. They distributed upwards of three millions of dollars amongst the municipalities for local objects of a permanent nature; and upwards of two millions of dollars for encouraging railways to which the people in the various localities were contributing still larger sums. The Asylums and Institutions established before Mr. Blake came into power having become inadequate to afford accommodation for the afflicted classes for which these Institutions were designed, it was the public desire that a further part of the money should be employed on enlarging and extending the respective buildings, so that there should be room for all. This was done. Was it wrong? Nobody said so at the time, and nobody ventures to say so now. The Central Prison was also greatly enlarged for a like reason, and the gaols were thereby relieved of an additional number of their inmates. More also was done for colonization roads and other Public Works; more for Education; more for hospitals and charities for the relief of the infirm and the poor; and more for various other objects of Public interest or advantage.

When our Institutions were enlarged and contained an additional number of inmates, a corresponding increase in the annual expenditure for the maintenance of these Institutions was a matter of course; but the cost per head is less at each of them than at similar institutions in any other part of the North American Continent. The pamphleteer endeavors by his tables, and his references to them, to create the false impression that more has been spent for what could and should have been as well accomplished for the smaller sums employed in the earlier years of Confederation; but the contrary is the fact. The Senator has manipulated the tables in several respects, in order to facilitate this impression. Some illustrations of this manipulation have been given in the newspapers, and in the debates in the Assembly on the answer to the Lieutenant Governor's Speech; and a more full account of the Senator's errors and misleading statements will be given hereafter.

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